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First 93 Tanks Shipped From Germany 21 Jan

LD2201132491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0841 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Voronenkov]

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jan (TASS)—On Monday [21 January] the first 93 tanks from units of the Western Group of Forces were loaded aboard the Soviet transport vessel Inzhener Machulskiy, which is in port at Rostock. The loading of a second vessel will start in the next few days. Under an understanding between the USSR and Germany, Soviet military equipment is to be withdrawn in a planned way to the Soviet Union from garrisons of the Western Group of Forces.

Four special areas have been set aside at Rostock port for the dispatch of weaponry and ammunition to the USSR. Specialists reckon that in 1991 military equipment with a total weight of a million tonnes is to be shipped to the USSR through the Baltic ports of the FRG.

Chervov Defends Soviet Observance of CFE Treaty

PM1601150491 Moscow IAN PRESS RELEASE in English 9 Jan 91

[Interview with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, aide to the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, by correspondent Yuriy Lebedev; place and date not given: "General Chervov on Verification and Claims That the USSR Is 'Cheating'"]

[Text] [Lebedev] How do you react to the spate of reports in the Western media on the redeployment of Soviet arms behind the Urals?

[Chervov] The West should not worry about it at all. The Western press has been artificially creating an atmosphere of mistrust towards the Soviet Union in this particular area.

Firstly, in September and October of 1990 Eduard Shevardnadze informed Secretary of State Baker of the removal of tanks behind the Urals. Both the US and its allies know it even before they signed the treaty. That is, the removal of tanks to the areas behind the Urals was done outside of the framework of the Vienna negotiations and we do not think that we have any contractual obligations in this area.

Second, the US and other NATO members have redeployed armaments and materiel to Europe and other regions. According to my information, as of November 23 1990, the US had moved as many as 1,270 tanks from Europe to such countries as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Pakistan, Oman and Bahrain. Another 1,000 tanks or so are being lifted from Europe to Saudi Arabia. All told, about 3,000 tanks are being removed from the reduction area, this without any control by other parties.

The NATO management intend to transport to Turkey (the South-East of Anatolia is beyond the reduction area) about 1,000 leopard tanks and a lot of other armaments. The idea is to keep the entire Middle East under NATO control. Even Turkey is removing its surplus tanks (over 330 vehicles) from the reduction zone to its South-Eastern parts under the pretext of security requirements at its borders with Iran, Syria and Iraq. This is being done while the treaty has been signed, which is unacceptable in concept.

[Lebedev] Yes, but would you please comment on the redeployment of Soviet arms, specifically tanks, beyond the Urals? [Chervov] As of July 1 1988 we had about 41,500 tanks in the land forces in Europe, just as we announced. As of November 19 1990, the day when the treaty was signed, we had abut 21,000 tanks left in Europe.

This is what happened to the other 20,500 tanks: 4,100 had been written off as scrap metal amd remade into auxiliary vehicles. 16,400 tanks, most of them of the recent makes, had been redeployed behind the Urals. Of them 8,000 had been transferred to the army units in the Eastern parts of the USSR to provide complete sets of equipment or replace older makes. The plans for 1991-95 include the removal of 6,000 obsolete tanks in th Eastern parts of the USSR. Such tanks will either be reduced to scrap or re-equipped into civilian vehicles.

The removal of a large amount of arms behind the Urals should be attributed in the first place to the fact that in 1988-1990 the USSR unilaterally reduced 500,000 personnel, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery pieces and withdrew troops from Eastern Europe.

Second, as of 1991 batch deliveries of tanks and other arms have been slashed to the land forces. The reserve in the Eastern parts may be a way of replacing materiel with expiring service-life. I don't think there is any violation involved. It would have made no sense to reduce new machines while leaving the older ones in the army. The NATO nations are doing the same thing as we do.

The point now is to reach the arms ceilings provided for by the treaty for every group of nations and for every individual country. No deception is possible for there will be strict inspection regarding original data, number for the after the ratification period, reduction procedure (sites for elimination and re-equipment, sites for permanent storage in depots), final levels for the entire duration of the treaty. (We are seeking confirmation of this sentence IAN note). There will be inspections almost on a daily basis in the European part of the USSR. Is there any way of hiding anything in that situation?

[Lebedev] Why do we have fewer verification installations now (as of the moment when the treaty was signed) as compared to what we announced earlier?

[Chervov] Life goes on, and changes have occurred in the structure of our armed forces and in the number of verification installations. There was no clear definition

of 'verification installation' before the treaty was elaborated. Their number has gone down for the following reasons:

Facilities that have personnel but no arms or materiel to be reduced under the treaty are not subject to count;

a number of large units and units have been unilaterally disbanded, including a guards tank divisioon that has been 'lost' by the West, plus a number of units have been removed from the reduction area.

Not subject to count are higher education establishments (about 70 per cent) that have 30 or fewer arms or materiel to be reduced under the treaty or less than 12 pieces of any one category of armaments (this conforms to the treaty);

Not subject to count are a number of facilities because their organic armaments and materiel have been excluded by the treaty from the list of arms or materiel to be reduced under the treaty. All such facilities shall be under supervision, and no cheating is possible. I think that NATO spokesmen want to increase the number of our facilities by hook or by crook, and therefore the quota of the inspection parties that we will have to receive. The USSR acts in strict accordance with the treaty.

Geneva Disarmament Conference Session Opens

LD2201132191 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondents Vitaliy Makarchev and Boris Shabayev]

[Text] Geneva January 22 TASS—A session of the Geneva disarmament conference opened here today. Now, after the unification of Germany, it is attended by 39 not 40 nations. They are to discuss almost 20 disarmament problems—from the banning of chemical weapons to the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

The conference will adhere to new regulations. It will now meet three times not twice every year. This will help make the negotiations more dynamic.

"The Soviet side will press for the elaboration of a global convention to ban all chemical weapons and destroy their stockpiles," head of the Soviet delegation Sergey Batsanov told TASS. "Many technical aspects of this important document are ready. Now it is up to political decisions."

"Equally important is the problem of preventing an arms race in outer space and extending confidence-building measures to that domain, too. The current session can be expected to produce new approaches and proposals on this score. The Soviet delegation attaches great importance to the banning of nuclear tests."

"The current session," Batsanov noted, "is beginning in a difficult international situation. The Gulf war cannot help affecting the negotiations. I believe this tense situation should prompt all parties to elaborate new approaches to all problems on the conference's agenda."

UN Experts Discuss Conventional Arms Sales

LD2201145591 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] New York U.N. Headquarters January 22 TASS—Openness in the field of international arms sales was discussed at an expert group session that opened here on Monday.

The expert group was established under the U.N. General Assembly session in 1988 to prepare a detailed study of openness. It is expected to be ready this summer and presented by the U.N. secretary-general in a report to the 46th session of the United Nations General Assembly.

Experts from 20 countries, including the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, Germany, Canada, Italy, Japan, Brazil, Egypt and Sri Lanka, are taking part in the session.

They represent foreign and defence ministries, universities and public organisations.

"The central concern of the report we are working on is the way to ensure openness, transparency as the principal confidence-building measure," group coordinator Timur Alasania told TASS.

"Our study proceeded from the need to work out a set of measures helping to eventually reduce international sales of weapons and strengthen security and stability.

"Participants show considerable interest in the linkage between international weapon sales and arms reductions in central Europe. They fear that arms reductions in Europe will release weapons which will end up in Third World countries," Alasania said.

He noted that the Gulf war was providing a sinister backdrop to the conference. The Gulf military conflict highlights the importance of the problem experts are working on and the significance of the report they are preparing.

"Discussions at preceding sessions were sometimes rather abstract in character. However, this conference has already shown that many speakers are now fully aware of the need to take practical steps. This approach reflects the desire of the international community to respond quickly to current events and not to waste precious time."

Gorbachev Holds News Conference 22 Jan

LD2201190791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1751 GMT 22 Jan 91

[News conference with President Mikhail Gorbachev at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow on 22 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades: The crisis, the moral and political tension in society, and the events that have led to victims require direct and frank discussion. I see that in a certain section of society there is a lack of understanding and even unwillingness to understand the policy of the president.

Just like everyone else, I, too, am profoundly affected by the tragic turn the confrontation in Lithuania and, in recent days, in Riga has taken, and I express the sincerest condolences to the families affected by this calamity. The circumstances connected with the use of arms should be thoroughly investigated and appraised according to the law. The first and main thing I wish to say boils down to the following: The developments in Vilnius and Riga are certainly not an expression of the line taken by the presidential power and nor was it created for this purpose. Therefore I resolutely reject all speculation and suspicion and slander on this score. Neither domestic nor foreign policy have undergone any change. Everything stays the way as was set down in documents and official statements by the leadership. The events in the Baltic republics arose in a situation of most severe crisis. The illegal acts, the trampling underfoot of the Constitution itself, disdain for the decrees issued by the president, the crude violations of civil rights, the discrimination against people of alien nationalities, the irresponsible behavior with regard to the Army and to servicemen and their families, created the kind of environment, the kind of atmosphere, in which these kinds of clashes and carnage may arise very easily, due to most unexpected causes. Here is where the source of the tragedy that has taken place lies—and not in some kind of imaginary orders from above. This is exactly what took place both in the first and in the second instance. As president, I see the main task to be preventing an escalation of the confrontation, normalizing the situation, and securing accord and cooperation. In this connection, the following is essential: The anticonstitutional laws of the supreme soviets and the decisions of the republican governments must be repealed; this applies, first and foremost, to those which violate human rights.

Any public organizations, committees, and fronts, whatever their programs, can aspire to come to power only through constitutional means, without using violence. All attempts to appeal to the Armed Forces are impermissible in the political struggle. An absolute end should be put to the discriminatory measures regarding military units stationed on the territories of republics and to a simply shameful attitude toward the families and children of servicemen. In accordance with the Union laws that are in force for the time being, troops are stationed in such places as are dictated by the requirements of the country's defense and security. Relations between civil authorities and the military should be built only on the basis of USSR laws. At the same time unauthorized actions of any kind by troops are impermissible. It is the duty and honor of commanders of all ranks to act only on orders, to show restraint, resist provocations, and strengthen discipline among subordinates.

Confirming the constitutional right of a republic to secede from the Union, we cannot permit either unruliness or arbitrariness in this matter, even on the part of elected bodies. Secession can take place only on the basis of the whole population's will, a referendum, and as a result of the process envisaged by law.

In connection with the above, there is the need to return to the discussion of the situation in the Baltic at the Council of the Federation. The events of the last few days have been used by certain circles to exacerbate the situation on the pretext of a turn to the right that is allegedly taking place and a threat of dictatorship. I resolutely reject these conjectures. The gains of perestroyka, democratization, and glasnot were and remain intransient values that will be guarded by presidential power. This does not mean, of course, that we can pass by unattentively when the means of propaganda, precisely propaganda—this must be said, one must call a spade a spade—are being used deliberately to provoke chaos, panic, and national strife; to set the people against the Army; and for calls to disregard laws.

Events in the Baltics are being speculatively used for raising the issue of dismembering our Armed Forces and creating republican armies. Such irresponsible statements are fraught with serious dangers, especially if they come from the Russian Federation's leadership.

I think that every reasonable person understands how this might turn out for our country and for the whole world. To put it mildly, the reverences paid abroad and to the United Nations Organization with the invitation to resolve matters that we ourselves can and should resolve appear strange and absurd.

We have opened our society for cooperation and interaction with the whole world and will continue to adhere to the foreign policy course adopted. However, the internal problems of the country should be resolved only by the Soviet people and no one else.

I cannot fail to say also that abroad, the events taking place are often interpreted one-sidedly, and in a number of cases in a manner recalling the ideological war of previous times. Many people there, as in our country, have inadequately grasped them and have seen in them a change in the policy of the Soviet leadership. It is regrettable and dangerous if, as a result of such an incorrect interpretation, that which has been achieved in international relations in recent years is placed in jeopardy.

During the acute polemical debate that has unfolded in the country, voices of reason have recently been recalling that the main thing today is political stability, firm legal order and discipline, normalization in the economy, resolute progress toward the market, and the democratic transformation of our multinational state. I share such a position.

Society is increasingly aware that it is not demonstrations, rallies, and strikes, or the fanning of political passions and confrontation that will lead the country out of crisis, but conscientious work and civil accord. I appeal for this to all fellow citizens of my country.

All in all, I did give prior warning that I would today be meeting with you to read out my message. I have discharged my task. However, since a number of correspondents from many papers present here have asked me to voice the Soviet appraisal of the current situation in the Persian Gulf region, then, without going into details and minutiae, I will say a few words along these lines:

Well, in the first place you are familiar with my statement in connection with the start of military operations in the Persian Gulf. I fully reiterate what was said in it. We proceed from a position of principle and are of the view that from the very first days, from the start of the crisis on 2 August and right up until today, we have been acting, proceeding from positions of principle—of interaction with the United Nations within the Security Council framework. I wish to reiterate this now, too. But I think that we are all concerned and that we all think about one and the same thing: In the first place, these events that have unfolded in the Persian Gulf have—and there are signs of this—a tendency toward a further escalation. This is very dangerous. We are duty bound to do everything possible to prevent an escalation of the conflict. This, in my view, is a responsibility we all share, along with the UN Organization. The Soviet Union's leadership is interacting on a permanent and regular basis with the leadership of the United States, other Security Council members, leaders and governments of European countries, of Asia, and we are conducting a particularly active dialogue with the leaders of the Arab countries. I think that we all ought to be doing this and I feel that everyone is experiencing a tremendous need of this, in order precisely to keep these events under control. There does exist a threat that these events may get out of control—I will not discuss what all of you are aware of. I think that you will agree that this is precisely so.

Finally, interacting within the framework of actions on the basis of the known Security Council resolutions, we have, unfortunately, turned out to have been drawn into military operations due to the Iraqi leadership's foolish and reckless policy.

We must not permit an escalation of these combat operations to such a phase where this will turn into the loss of life of American soldiers, the deaths of Iraqi soldiers, and especially, the peaceful population. I believe this phase is approaching, if we are not already at the start of this phase. This is already a completely new situation that we must assess—and having assessed it appropriately, we must act upon it in the right way. In this instance I think there is a sufficient potential and reserve of interaction and responsibility among all those who have been drawn into this conflict, and not just them—I think this is the common concern of the world community. This is, perhaps, the main thing I would like to emphasize, replying to this question.

The Security Council is acting to implement the objectives it has placed before it—to liberate Kuwait and to restore its independence. I think that even at the outset we all proceeded from this and it was precisely this that determined the active work for this conflict to be solved by political means, so as not to permit such a nature of combat operations that would lead us to grave consequences, from which a way out might be very difficult and could complicate the whole world situation for a long time to come.

Analysis Views Western Talks on Gulf, USSR

LD2201155291 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—A two-day meeting of finance ministers and central bank managers from seven economically most advanced countries—the United States, Canada, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—was recently held in New York. It focused on two problems: The situation on financial markets in connection with the Gulf war and the possibility of granting the USSR extensive economic assistance.

Judging by the final communique, the ministers and bank managers merely exchanged views on the state of financial markets "in light of uncertainties engendered by the Gulf war and events in the Soviet Union".

U.S. Finance Minister Nicholas Brady told a press conference that relations with the USSR were only temporarily frozen until everybody gets a clear picture of what is happening in the Baltic republics. Brady warned against rash assessments of events in the Soviet Union, especially since a meeting between President Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev was approaching.

I am sure Moscow will deservedly assess the New York meeting's desire not to react hastily to new developments, but to arrive at well grounded judgments. Of course, it is regrettable that concrete problems linked with the big seven's economic cooperation with the Soviet Union have been put off.

But we are reassured by the fact that the meeting has not dotted all the i's and crossed all the t's. Its participants apparently realise that any refusal to promote economic cooperation with the Soviet Union will further increase instability in our country.

It appears that the big seven's calm and reasonable approach to the events in the Soviet Union will produce a favourable impression on western business circles, disturbed by overemotional reports in the Soviet and Western press. It is an open secret that positions of politicians largely depend on those of businessmen, on their readiness to invest in the Soviet economy. Frankly speaking, our country badly needs external assistance in these difficult days and in its efforts to carry out domestic reforms and switch over to a market system.

The restraint displayed in New York is in sharp contrast to pronouncements by some western statesmen, particularly British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who, in my opinion, has gone to extremes when he accused the Soviet authorities of using "Stalinist tactics" in the Baltic region.

The "strong language", to which the British minister resorted, is hardly appropriate, especially if we recall London's longstanding armed attempts to bring to heel Northern Ireland, which is endeavouring to rid itself of British domination.

I believe the London FINANCIAL TIMES displayed a correct approach to the issue. As distinct from the foreign secretary, it believes the West is unable to ensure independence to the Baltic republics. It can be achieved only as a result of internal development within the framework of the Soviet Union, which favours freer federal structures, the newspaper believes.

UK, U.S., Israeli Censorship of War News Viewed

PM2201140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent V. Linnik: "Barrier of Censorship"]

[Text] New York, 20 Jan—The fiercer the clashes in the sky over Iraq and the more regular the missile strikes against Israel become, the more restrained the coverage of the war becomes in the U.S. mass media.

In this instance I refer not to the restrained tone but the paucity of information. The press and television have essentially been placed on semistarvation rations. Iraq has expelled CNN's reporters who—in contrast to the generally accepted opinion on the closed nature of dictatorial regimes—reported live from Baghdad for 48 hours after hostilities began. For clarity's sake, let me say that this is tantamount to letting correspondents from the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG report from Moscow on 22 and 23 June 1941.

After that the barrier of censorship restrictions was firmly lowered on news received by journalists direct from the conflict zone. Israel restricted virtually all information on the damage done by the missile strikes against its towns. The official explanation is that these measures have been adopted to prevent Iraq's spotters from adjusting their aim. Britain has vetoed all information on its losses. Washington has banned the reproduction of any photographs and video films without the prior approval of the military censor. Henceforth, all videos which appear on U.S. TV screen are endorsed "Cleared in advance by the censor."

As a result the only information left is that which has been rigorously selected by the military and which comes from centralized sources.

United States & Canada

USSR Makes 'Largest' U.S. Grain Purchase

PM170111239! Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Moscow Edition p 1

[Report from column headed IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, REUTER, UPI: "Grain Purchases in United States"]

[Text] According to a U.S. Department of Agriculture report, this week the Soviet Union made the largest one-time purchase of U.S. grain in history. It acquired over 3.7 million tonnes of grain costing between $340 million and $380 million. These purchases were effected the day after the Soviet and U.S. sides agreed on the question of guarantees and granting the Soviet Union credit worth $900 million for acquiring agricultural products.

U.S. Plans for 'Topaz' Space Reactor Viewed

PM1401132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by S. Leskov: "Soviet Reactor on U.S. Satellite?"]

[Text] According to reports from a number of news agencies, the U.S. Administration intends to acquire from the Soviet Union a space power device to create on its basis a nuclear reactor for future spacecraft. Journalists were told by Republican Senator Domenici that the U.S. Department of Energy, the U.S. Air Force leadership, and the leaders of the SDI program have agreed to acquire the "Topaz-2" space power device from the USSR.

The report puts us in a difficult position, there is no denying. It is hard to believe that we have decided to render assistance to the "Star Wars" program which we have so far criticized severely whenever the occasion has arisen. So far it is hard to check how reliable the report is. To all appearances it is based on reports from Albuquerque, where the traditional symposium on space power engineering is now working and where a model of the "Topaz-2" has been put on display. The Soviet delegation in Albuquerque is headed by academician N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy, first deputy director of the Kurchatov Nuclear Power Institute. The "Topaz-2" nuclear space reactor which the news agencies are reporting about was developed with the active participation of specialists of the Nuclear Energy Institute. The cost of the nuclear device is assessed at a minimum of several million dollars but taking into account the extra work for specific conditions it could be substantially higher.

First of all, what do the Americans want to buy, if we do indeed sell? The "Topaz" means fundamentally new sources of electricity in the form of nuclear reactors with a thermal emission transformer [termoemissionnyy preobrazovatel]. It is true that "Topaz-2" has not been in space and has only been tested in the laboratory. But its "Topaz" prototype has already undergone successful space flight trials in 1987-1988 on the "Kosmos" series satellites. One device worked six months, another a year. The device's yield is about 10 kilowatts. For comparison one may recall that at best 120 watts of electricity can be collected from one square meter of solar batteries. The entire mass of solar batteries of the "Mir" orbital complex collects the same amount of energy as is provided by the small "Topaz-2." Without going into the technical details it may be said that a number of "Topaz'" unique technical specifications make it possible to put it on a par with the most promising technical discoveries in the field of cosmonautics and energy. It must be stressed that this is an infrequent case of the USSR retaining undisputed priority. The United States has only once tested a similar reactor, in 1965, but it worked only 43 days, although the satellite is still in orbit.

Soviet space reactors are giving rise to disputes which have not abated since the time 10 years ago when radioactive fragments of one of them fell on Canadian territory and fragments of another on the Indian Ocean. These reactors, THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE reports, provide electricity for reconnaissance satellites in low orbit used to observe the movement of Western countries' warships. In the past 10 years, according to the Americans, the USSR has put about 35 of these reconnaissance satellites in orbit. They operated at best for a few months—until the reactors stopped. The "Topaz" device ensures fundamentally new, substantially broader opportunities for spacecraft. Suffice it to say that the lifespan of a nuclear reactor reaches five years.

Back in 1989, when a group of Soviet specialists headed by academician N. Ponomarev-Stepnoy first visited the conference on space power engineering in Albuquerque, an official U.S. Government spokesman announced that the Soviet delegation had confidentially sounded out the possibility of selling space reactors to the West. This proposal aroused ambivalent feelings in Americans. The Soviet specialists' openness and, moreover, on a formerly strictly secret program, earned praise. At the same time, everyone also understood something else. At present, the United States does not have satellites with operating nuclear reactors. Many U.S. specialists noted with concern that such reactors could open the way to the creation of a new type of spy satellites.

Physicists involved with "Topaz" who have remained in Moscow were extremely surprised by its recent mention in connection with SDI. According to their information, preliminary talks were conducted on the use of the "Topaz" device for television satellites. Could the Americans, playing on our financial difficulties, persuade Soviet representatives to expand the sphere of application of the "Topaz-2?" The deal, if it goes through, would benefit U.S. national security. But Soviet security? As yet, without knowing the specific details of the talks, it is premature to draw conclusions.

One thing is clear: Soviet specialists were unwillingly put in an ambivalent position in Albuquerque, Because funds for space trials of "Topaz-2" have not been earmarked from our state budget. This time, too, the U.S. treasury has proved more generous.

China

Expert Views Troop Reductions in Far East

OW2301102991 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report on interview with Colonel (Sherko), an expert at the Soviet Ministry of Defense, by an unidentified station correspondent; date and place not given; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] (Sherko) said: The reduction of our country's military strength in the East is not only limited to troop cuts, but has been accompanied by large-scale qualitative reforms. The reduction of various military services is in line with military theories. Here is a specific example. In the past, a motorized infantry division in the East had 250 tanks. Now, it has only 150. Certainly the division has become less mobile. It can still accomplish self-defense tasks, however. Incidentally, motorized infantry divisions along the Soviet-Chinese border have been stripped of tanks as a result of massive reductions of troops there. Four Army corps and one brigade have been dismantled in the Far East and Outer Caucasus.

(Sherko) continued: The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia has contributed significantly to the reduction of troops in the East. In fact, all combat troops, including those of the Air Force, have been pulled out of that country. Most of those units have been disbanded upon their return home. Only a few logistics regiments, which are responsible for transporting materiel to Soviet troops, remain there. All of them will be withdrawn from Mongolia by the end of this year. Generally speaking, Soviet Army troops in the Far East are now fewer than those of Japan and South Korea.

He was asked if the Soviet fleet in the Pacific will undergo changes?

He said: First, I would like to note that the Navy, its Eastern units included, is undergoing structural changes. While maintaining its self-defense capability, the Pacific Fleet has removed 57 battleships. Sea exercises have been curtailed substantially; they are now conducted just off the Soviet coast. Japan and other countries in the region have noticed the active reduction of Soviet naval troops. For the first time, Japan's white paper on defense issues has failed to mention a seaborne military threat from the Soviet Union.

Radio on Development of Bilateral Relations

OW1701035691 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 15 Jan 91

[Commentary by Alekseyev; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Sino-Soviet relations developed rapidly last year. As Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev told our station reporter, there were achievements to be proud of in this respect. In 1990, much has been expanded in political, economic, scientific, and cultural ties between the two countries. It is therefore expected that this trend will be extended well in 1991. Our station commentator Alekseyev writes as follows:

Some said that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations in 1989 and the current rapid and steady development of relations between the two countries are results of improved overall international climate. How true is this thinking? I maintain that it is partially true. In the early 1980's, relations between the two countries have begun to show improvements. This was because both Moscow and Beijing had critically thought of the past lessons and dialogues at that time were not detrimental to the interests of the people of the two countries. It is equally untrue to view the restoration of relations between the Soviet Union and China and the rapid development in those relations as an isolated incident, however. Gorbachev has said that the Sino-Soviet relations is a component part of the complicated international relations. I think the point worth specially pointing out here is that the neighborly cooperation between the Soviet Union and China has a good impact on the Asia and Pacific region. Let us take the Cambodian issue as an example. Two or three years ago, no one would have imagined that the Soviet Union and China would fully cooperate in the settlement of that issue. For many years, the two countries have been diametrically opposed over the issue, it is therefore totally unimaginable for this type of cooperation. Besides, the two countries differed in principle over the Cambodian issue. Beijing considers the issue as a major obstacle to the improvement of Sino-Soviet relations. Now, however, the two countries have, together with other permanent members of the Security Council, jointly promoted the plan for the solution of the Cambodian issue to which the various Cambodian factions also largely agreed.

Another important point is that the full normalization of relations between the two countries may prompt the two sides to take a series of measures to perfect the situation in the Far East. The current negotiations for reduction of border troops and measures to strengthen confidence are meant to serve this purpose.

The normalization of Sino-Soviet relations also has something to do with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia, which should be completed this year. The withdrawal was prompted by the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China. We may

ponder whether this will be conducive to the perfection of the situation in the Asia and Pacific region.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Reaction to Lithuania Events Viewed

PM1701155991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent I. Latyshev under general heading "Reaction to Events in Lithuania:" "Such Diverse Approaches...: Japan"]

[Text] Tokyo—The disturbances in Vilnius provoked by Lithuanian separatists, which led to the involvement of military units in the course of the events, have caused the enemies of the Soviet Union to become active again in Japan.

These are circles which long had to sit in the shadows and remain silent, given the general growth in sympathy among the public here for our country and for the Soviet leadership's course of implementing perestroyka, conducting international affairs, and carrying out the ideas of new thinking. Those forces unfriendly to us are now trying to use the mass media to create in the Japanese public's mind a wrong idea about the crux of the conflict prevailing in Lithuania.

Some officials of the Japanese Foreign Ministry have also "begun to exhibit" certain intentions. Nagao Hyogo, chief of a department of that ministry, invited L.A. Chizhov, USSR ambassador to Japan, to the Foreign Ministry, and tried to "give advice" to the USSR government on how to act there. In response the Soviet ambassador explained to him politely but firmly that outside pressure could only complicate the situation.

A prejudiced desire to show "sympathy" only to those forces in the Soviet Union bent on bringing about collapse and anarchy has also been seen in statements by certain representatives of the Japanese Government. Some of them even resort here to putting pressure upon the Soviet leadership, hinting that Japan might refuse the economic aid it has promised to the Soviet Union. A statement made at a routine press conference by Misoji Sakamoto, chief cabinet secretary, was couched in roughly the same vein.

A more realistic approach to the events in Lithuania is being shown, however, by business circles here. While expressing his regret at the clashes in Lithuania at a press conference held yesterday, Gaishi Hiraiwa, president of the country's main business association, the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations, stated the intention of the federation and of other business organizations to continue preparations to send medicine and medical equipment worth 50 million yen to the Soviet Union in accordance with the decision made earlier. Mr. Hiraiwa also said he was sure that the events in Lithuania will not influence the course of the next session of the Japanese-Soviet Economic Cooperation Committee, which opens in Tokyo at the end of this month and which aims to discuss plans for cooperation between the countries in developing the natural resources of Siberia.

Nor, as was stressed, does a large group of Japanese businessmen—representatives of six of the country's largest trading companies—intend to change its plans. These are businessmen who are leaving for Moscow in the next few days to hold meetings with USSR Vice President G. Yanayev, and the new USSR Prime Minister V. Pavlov, and to discuss with the Soviet government the question of supplies of a large quantity of consumer goods to our country, payment for which will be met by supplies of Soviet oil to Japan.

Such is the reaction in Japan to the events in Lithuania: Those who do not value future relations between Tokyo and Moscow are seeking to exploit the events to reanimate anti-Soviet feelings in the country. Others, however, displaying a realistic understanding of what is happening and a concern for Japanese national interests, are maintaining the previous course of business cooperation and good-neighborly ties between our countries.

I would like to hope that the irresponsible elements revived in Japan's political world will not manage to upset our bilateral relations. Otherwise the good, constructive dialogue currently under way between the Soviet Union and Japan in the runup to the bilateral summit in Tokyo this April could be marred.

U.S. Forces in Japan Termed 'Anachronistic'

OW1801082791 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 17 Jan 91

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Japan's increasing cost sharing of the U.S. forces in Japan has drawn attention. Compared with other nations in which U.S. military bases are stationed, Japan has earmarked a huge amount of money for U.S. forces in Japan. At present, Japan is bearing approximately 40 percent of the total costs required for maintaining U.S. forces in Japan and, in five years, the cost sharing will increase to 50 percent. In that case, there is no guarantee that Japan's future cost sharing for the forces will not exceed the projected 50 percent. Last September, the U.S. House of Representatives adopted a resolution calling on Japan to bear the total costs of the forces. This resolution later incurred a fierce backlash from the Japanese people. Even the Defense Agency viewed the attitude of the U.S. House of Representatives as insensible. Nonetheless, Japan has yielded to pressure from the United States. Hence, the question about how the Japanese Government will respond to the U.S. requests has arisen. This is of significance because U.S. requests are not confined to financial contributions. According to KYODO reports, the U.S. side, at a meeting with a Defense Agency delegation that recently visited the United States, said that the United States expects Japan

to make physical contributions in addition to its financial contributions. Because the U.S. side made these remarks in connection with the Persian Gulf situation, it is easily understandable that the United States is asking Japan, in its contributions, to give foremost priority to the Middle East conflict. Although I do not know if this U.S. request will be met, but this is highly likely if the Japanese Government's examination of plans to send Self-Defense Forces members abroad is taken into account.

Turning my comment again to the question of the U.S.forces in Japan, I am doubtful about the justification for their presence. Under the present situation of substantially improved East-West relations, it seems to me that the presence of foreign troops in other nations is anachronistic. I think that the presence of foreign troops in Japan is inconsistent with the genuine interests of Japan's sovereignty and the international detente as well as international interests.

Japanese Firm To Advise USSR on Securities

91UF0338A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by M. Berger under the rubric "Events and Commentary": "Japanese Bankers as Advisers to our Government"]

[Text] **On 9 January L. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, signed an agreement with the Japanese corporation Daiwa, one of the largest financial groups conducting operations with securities in the world.**

The essence of the agreement is that the group will act as adviser to the government on questions of organizing a securities market, privatization, and reform of credit and financial matters. The agreement stipulates a joint effort to work out specific proposals in the area of forming a financial market as well as to organize an issue of first-issue bonds (a type of security issued, as a rule, by the state). Daiwa also signed a series of other agreements on cooperation, particularly with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Finances, the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and the Moscow International Securities Exchange. Yoshitoki Chino, chairman of the board, signed the documents in the name of Daiwa.

This is the first visit to our country by representatives of Japan's financial community at this level. Until recently, Japanese financial companies hardly took part in any activities in our country throughout the postwar years, primarily for political motives. The precedent set by the head of a corporation with an annual net income of more than $1 billion (one of the best indices for this kind of activity in the world) will, according to the opinion of specialists, have the most significant consequences not only for the development of cooperation with Daiwa but also at the level of attracting Japanese banking capital to the Soviet marketplace. And if you consider that Japan is possibly the world's largest source of free capital today, then the interest in us by bankers of the first magnitude is not an ordinary event.

In an interview with IZVESTIYA, Y. Chino, chairman of the board at Daiwa, said that the main goal of the visit and of cooperation at this stage is to help their Soviet partners respond to questions arising in the area of the creation of a financial market in the USSR. In conjunction with this, the Daiwa group believes the instruction of people to be a task of primary importance.

[Chino] Your national economy is at a stage of major and significant changes, and the most important condition of success is the corresponding preparation of specialist and staff in general. We intend to render practical aid in the organization of a securities exchange in your country and aid in conducting privatization and creating joint-stock societies. But the foundation of all this work will be instruction.

[Berger] What is Daiwa specifically proposing in this area?

[Chino] As early as next week, on 15 January in London, our company Daiwa-Europe will begin instructing the first 30 young specialists from seven countries of Eastern Europe. Six of them represent the Soviet Union. But that is only an insignificant portion of what we intend to accomplish in this area. We are prepared to accept for on-the-job training and for instruction a substantial number of young people from the Soviet Union who will be chosen by the Soviet side as represented by both governmental and nongovernmental structures.

As for other trends in cooperation, we have proposed to the Institute of World Economics and International Relations that we conduct joint research on problems of the overall influence of the economic development of the Siberian regions on the development of an economic space in the zone of the Sea of Japan. It seems to us that an economic union along the lines of the EC could be created around the Sea of Japan, and as a result joint research in this direction would have enormous significance for our countries.

[IZVESTIYA] Why has Daiwa turned out to be the first Japanese company of its type to decide to begin practical cooperation with Soviet partners?

[Chino] Someone needs to break the ice, and in Japan we try to be the first in everything. In addition, although Daiwa is an absolutely independent company, I wish to stress that with regard to our efforts to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union we enjoy the support of the Japanese Government—that is to say, our views on the problem coincide.

It seems to me that Japanese and Soviet citizens do not sufficiently understand the fact that we are neighbors today. The blame for that lies with a catastrophic lack of information about one another. I would call this one of the monstrosities of the modern world. And together

with our Soviet partners we intend to make every effort to overcome this shortage of information about one another so that public opinion in both countries will accept our cooperation as something natural and very important.

By the way, despite the fact that I am here for the first time, our contacts have a little history. Exactly 18 years ago, in January 1973, Daiwa sent a request to the USSR State Bank requesting cooperation in opening a representation in Moscow. We still have not received a response to our request, and here I am to see if the letter was lost in the mail... But seriously, I hope that times have changed enough that this style of mutual relations will remain forever in the past.

[IZVESTIYA] What is your opinion of the prospects for cooperation with your company and with Japan as a whole?

[Chino] Ten years ago the total gross national product of the countries of Southeast Asia was only half of the analogous index for the countries of the EC. Today, only 10 years later, that ratio is one to one. Yes, the Soviet Union is a European country and part of the common European home. But your Siberia, Far East, Sakhalin, and Kamchatka are part of the Asian home, and the development of these most rich regions, in which Japan is interested, may perhaps repeat the marvel of the rapid economic growth of the countries of the region in recent years.

Gorbachev, Mongolian Leaders Exchange Greetings

Gorbachev Greetings

PM1701123991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Second Edition p 6

[Message of greetings from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to Mongolian President P. Ochirbat and G. Ochirbat, chairman of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, on 25th anniversary of USSR-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance; date not given]

[Text] To Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, president of the Mongolian People's Republic, and Gombojabyn Ochirbat, chairman of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee

In connection with the 25th anniversary of the USSR-Mongolian Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance I would like to assure you, esteemed comrades, and all citizens of your country that the Soviet Union highly values everything good and positive in its relations with Mongolia that has been created by joint efforts over a number of decades.

I believe that, by carefully improving our multifaceted, fruitful ties and decisively freeing them from outmoded stereotypes and weaknesses, our countries can collaborate confidently and effectively in various spheres of politics, the economy, science, and culture on the basis of full equality and mutual benefit. This is in the fundamental interests of our peoples, who are engaged in highly complex tasks of social renewal. It is also in the vital interests of strengthening peace and achieving broad, constructive cooperation between all states in the Asian-Pacific region.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR

Ochirbat Greetings

PM1701123191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 91 Second Edition p 6

[Greetings message from G. Ochirbat, chairman of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Mongolian-USSR Friendship Treaty; date not given]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Dear Mikhail Sergeyevich,

On behalf of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and myself I send to you, and through you to the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet people cordial greetings on the 25th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR.

I note with satisfaction the important role played by the treaty in strengthening the traditional friendship between our peoples, in the socioeconomic and cultural development of our country, and in strengthening its international position.

I am sure that the humane ideas of the treaty will continue to promote the fruitful development of cooperation between our countries in the spirit of perestroyka and the demands of the time.

With deep respect,

[Signed] G. Ochirbat, chairman of the MPRP Central Committee

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Radio Views Upcoming Hanoi Meeting on Cambodia

BK2201032391 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Commentary by station observer Viktor Valentinov]

[Text] At present, the international community is making continuous efforts to end the civil war and rebuild peace in Cambodia. On 1 and 2 February, Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam, will host a series of meetings

dedicated to the Cambodian problem. Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, has the following comments:

Expected in Hanoi are high-ranking French and Indonesian diplomats. These two countries, in their capacity as co-chairmen of the Paris International Conference on Cambodia [PICC], worry that dissension among the four warring Cambodian factions has widened. In my opinion, there is specific cause for such concern. As is known to all, the four Cambodian factions generally agreed with the plan for settling the conflict worked out and approved by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. According to the plan, the United Nations will supervise the cease-fire in Cambodia and will set up its administrative authority for resolving major problems confronting Cambodia during the transitional period before the national assembly elections.

Our observer, Comrade Viktor Valentinov, goes on:

Let me recall that in general, all the Cambodian political forces accepted this plan by preserving their right to put forth their own conditions. In my opinion, they deserve to have this right because Cambodia's internal problems cannot be resolved by anyone but the Cambodians themselves.

Some doubts about this plan have been displayed by Phnom Penh and by Hanoi which want lasting peace to prevail in neighboring Cambodia. This attitude is due to the following causes:

The UN plan on disarming the warring Cambodian forces. Phnom Penh and Hanoi predict that Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge will certainly withdraw a part of its forces deployed in Thai territory to avoid UN inspection and then use it in the fight to seize the power in Cambodia. The current activities of the Khmer Rouge serve as a warning for the other side to have such a view and adopt a careful attitude.

It should be said that thanks to diplomatic talks, there are now possibilities for a cease-fire in Cambodia. At the roundtable meeting in Paris, the Cambodian factions reached a consensus on this issue. The Pol Pot faction also supported this. In such a situation, each faction should have done its best to strengthen mutual trust and reduce military and political tension inside the country. But the Khmer Rouge have turned to intensify their military offensive. They have been seeking conditions to place themselves at an advantage before the cease-fire arrives, such as by rocking the positions of the government forces along the northwestern border.

What does the Pol Pot clique plan to do? After the cease-fire and the disarming of the Phnom Penh government forces, it will put to use the elite armed forces which are now hiding in the rear, in Thai territory. The clique certainly hopes that the UN inspection will not extend into Thai territory.

For their part, Phnom Penh and Hanoi want a firm guarantee that the Khmer Rouge will be controlled under similar conditions as the other factions involved in the solution. It is the issue of such a guarantee that will be discussed at the meeting to be held in Hanoi on 1 and 2 February with the participation of the PICC co-chairmen. This is the conclusion of our Observer Viktor Valentinov.

Malaysian Remarks on ASEAN Expansion Hailed

BK1001061491 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1100 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Commentary by Aleksey Nikolayev: "Will the Geographical Boundaries of ASEAN Expand?"]

[Text] Malaysian Foreign Minister Abu Hassan Omar said during a meeting of representatives of Southeast Asian countries that the ASEAN member countries would welcome the entry of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Burma into this organization. The Malaysian foreign minister said that this would contribute to the creation of a new order in this region and the enhancement of ASEAN's role in strengthening peace and cooperation in Southeast Asia.

In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Aleksey Nikolayev points out that Abu Hassan Omar's statement is simply a proposal for the time being, but it has great significance reflecting recent positive breakthroughs in the region. Far-sighted politicians have long proposed that Southeast Asia should be turned into a zone of peace, freedom, stability, good-neighborliness, and cooperation and become a nuclear-free zone. Such initiatives have been put forward by both the ASEAN and Indochinese countries. With a common goal, it would be easier to strive for this through common efforts. Unfortunately, practice has shown that it is far more difficult to do so. Today, the effects of the Indochinese war imposed on the region from outside are still being felt. So are socioeconomic and ideological differences among the Southeast Asian countries. The unresolved Cambodian issue continues to overshadow life in this region. All this is an objective reality.

The fact cannot be overlooked, however, that the situation is gradually acquiring a new dimension and I think, Aleksey Nikolayev continues, the current desire for cooperation supersedes outdated confrontational approaches. Take the Cambodian issue as an example. Practice has shown that only by combining efforts on the basis of mutual contacts have the Indochinese and ASEAN countries been able to move away from a glacial freeze and develop a settlement process. In the meantime, existing differences in assessing these or those aspects have no longer become an obstacle for the ASEAN and Indochinese countries to coordinate further steps toward resolving regional conflicts. Many politicians have predicted the arrival of the so-called post-Cambodia era. I think this is what is implicit in the proposed expansion of the geographical boundaries of

ASEAN—the future entry of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia into ASEAN. It is appropriate to recall that the decisions of the ASEAN leaders during their summit in December 1987 included a provision opening ASEAN's doors to other countries, and it would be logical for ASEAN's immediate neighbors to be the first countries to enter it. For their part, they support initiatives for the establishment of a common organization for Southeast Asia as a whole. A spokesperson of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is taking in the current meeting in Kuala Lumpur, said that the time had come for all Southeast Asian countries to join hands and together strive for peace and prosperity.

Near East & South Asia

Reports Differ on U.S. Bombing Accuracy

General Says 90 Percent Off

AU2201191791 Paris AFP in English 1904 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, Jan 22 (AFP)—Ninety per cent of bombing and missile strikes by the United States and its allies missed their targets, according to a general belonging to the Soviet general staff quoted Tuesday by the non-official INTERFAX news agency.

The general, who was not identified, said 90 per cent of the allied bombardment of Iraq and occupied Kuwait "hit no target" and "a large number of airports and aircraft are undamaged despite claims to the contrary".

According to the source "Iraqi air bases are very well camouflaged and extremely hard to locate." After losing five planes in one day last week, the general said the allied aviation had been forced to change its tactics.

"Saying bad weather was the reason the planes were grounded was only a pretext. In fact they were planning a change of tactics," INTERFAX quoted the Soviet general as saying.

Last week, INTERFAX in a report which also cited the Soviet General Staff, said that "all the runways and Iraqi airports were destroyed".

Evacuee Says 'Extremely Accurate'

LD2301115291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 23 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Ravil Musin]

[Text] Tehran, 23 Jan (TASS)—After long waits Soviet experts arrived yesterday evening in Tehran from Iraq. Ninety-seven persons, including two women, are being housed at the USSR Trade Mission in Iran and are preparing for tomorrow's regular Aeroflot flight to Moscow.

After they had rested, the TASS correspondent today talked to some of the Soviet citizens who had arrived in Tehran. The exhausting journey has not shaken the Soviet people's optimism and courage. All are well and feel fine.

This is what Mikhail Petrovich Predan, head of the "Selkhozpromeksport" office in Iraq says: We experts remaining in Iraq were assembled in the small town of al-Yusufiyah, 60 km from Baghdad. There was no panic as the column of buses and cars was formed, and we made our way to the eastern border of Iraq. True, we had to stay 24 hours in the neutral zone owing to formalities. We do not know what happened to our things, since links between cities in Iraq have been cut since the very start of military operations. Our association was building an elevator in Sulaymaniyah. Now only the embassy officials are left in Baghdad and there are no Soviet experts there, Mikhail Petrovich said. We watched the bombs falling. It should be noted that they were extremely accurate and fell mainly on industrial targets. The radio and television building was also hit. Evidently the Iraqi authorities had foreseen this possibility and had prepared a reserve option.

Among the Soviet citizens are Nina Borisova and Natalya Tovstun, the wife of a trade mission official. We coped with the difficulties of collecting everyone together without panic, in an organized manner. Everything was provided—food, and medicines in case of unforeseen circumstances on the journey, Natalya says. Asked why they had stayed in Iraq, many said they had still hoped that at the last moment the Iraqi authorites would decide to withdraw their troops from Iraq. Then war could have been averted.

Soviet people working in Iran warmly welcomed the arrivals. All have been housed in comfortable apartments and are being fed.

'Most of Mankind' Oppose War, Support Iraq

PM2201092791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Kobysh "Political Observer's Opinion": "A Special Kind of War"]

[Text] The blitzkrieg which (from the standpoint of official representatives of the UN states) has two main aims—to liberate trampled and Iraqi-occupied Kuwait and to punish Saddam Husayn and his regime (to make others think twice)—has not resulted in victory. From the standpoint of military strategists the war is already protracted. What is worse—and this poses a potential threat to all mankind—it seems that the war is turning into a slaughter (if you leave aside the massive bombing raids, the astounding accuracy of the U.S. missiles, and what has so far been the complete failure of the mainly Soviet-made Iraqi missiles).

Iraq's missile strikes against Israel have lent a new dimension and a new quality to the war. Military strategists will have to judge the purpose of these strikes.

Wars—excluding overt violence, blind fanaticism, and acts of terrorism and banditry—are always connected with politics. Politics, as is well known, is both art and calculation. Serious politics is based not on illusions and slogans but on accurate calculations—a painstaking inventory of realistic possibilities, as it were. These familiar axioms are nothing new. I bring them to mind merely because this war does not fit into the old axioms. The familiar phrases "survival of the fittest," "the winners make the rules," "war is war," and so forth also sound out of place.

This is a special kind of war. On the one hand, it is a war—as Washington, London, and certain other capitals have been stating—sanctioned by the now-famous UN Security Council Resolution 678. We would note that the Soviet Union voted in favor, the PRC abstained. In passing, we would draw your attention to one other point. Since 2 August last year—the day when Iraq's aggression against Kuwait began—the UN Security Council has adopted a total of 12 (!) resolutions. Currently the UN Security Council has not adopted a single resolution. This is not arithmetic, but higher mathematics.

This is the first war in the period when the "cold war" is over (unfortunately, only in terms of declarations and mutual promises primarily). When mankind, represented in the United Nations, has managed to rally itself for the first time ever to rebuff an aggressor—Iraq, which has trampled sovereign Kuwait. Just as, a few years prior to this, the United States trampled (from the legal standpoint the size of the country is irrelevant) Grenada and others. Even earlier it tried to break Vietnam. Much later the Soviet Union, having learned nothing from the U.S. experience in Vietnam or from the equally instructive British experience, invaded Afghanistan and got bogged down there for many years. It is sad if not painful to wonder why back then mankind was unable to overlook secondary considerations and focus on the prime consideration—stopping aggressors.

But that was then—seemingly not so long ago, but really a different era. Before the advent of new thinking and the dawning in people—including presidents, prime ministers, and their advisers—of the idea that force solves nothing. However, it has taken overwhelming force to affirm and uphold this sacred idea. This too, it seems, is essentially a first for mankind.

On the other hand, the conflict in the Gulf resulted in a concentration of forces of unprecedented destructive power. Armed forces equipped with nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological weapons, among others.

What does this mean for the human race? I will not resort to epithets. I will cite the opinions of the specialists I managed to consult. They believe that the destruction of nuclear, military chemical, and biological installations on Iraqi territory along with research centers as a result of the air strikes and, even more so, the missile bombardments by the United States and its allies poses many threats. Not only to Iraq, but to everyone on earth—above all the civilian population. I would recall that the epicenter of events is many thousands of kilometers away from the United States, thousands of kilometers away from Britain, but just a few hundred kilometers away from the Soviet Union's southern borders.

A question arises, a difficult question, but one which is being asked all around the world. Could this war have been avoided, were all political, diplomatic, and other means used to prevent these threats to mankind, which were predicted by various academics and military men? There is as yet no precise answer to that question.

Did our country do everything to prevent this situation? The Soviet Union acted in every area and at every level to prevent war. It is very important at this time that a man like A.A. Bessmertnykh has become USSR foreign minister, reaffirming the continuity of Soviet foreign policy. It is extremely important that, stressing yet again that Iraq was guilty of aggression, the USSR president at the same time sent a message to Saddam Husayn. Many countries have fully assessed the fact that the Soviet Union is maintaining contacts with the Iraqi leadership. It is exceptionally important that our proposals have met with a response and given rise to hope in an agitated world poisoned with disinformation.

About information and disinformation. Events have confirmed what had previously been surmised. In serious crisis situations a monopoly on information—above all, television information—is a force no less powerful than tanks and missiles.

In the first few hours of the war, when there was no accurate information, there was only the disinformation that had been preplanned by the various sides. The United States immediately won a battle on this front. On day one of the war, three extremely professional correspondents for the U.S. CNN-TV empire who had found themselves—it is not known how—in central Baghdad were essentially the only people informing the world about what was happening. I do not doubt the personal probity of these individuals, but I submit that even they did not know what was happening. In particular, they did not know that Iraq and Israel are by no means the only places with censorship. That in the United States too, all information is strictly rationed by the military censors. That all television companies were able to interview the same specially selected servicemen. That the Pentagon's propaganda department let the television companies use only sanitized pictures allegedly showing the war, world reaction to the ailied forces' "sensationally successful operations," and general delight and admiration. It was only on day two that it transpired that all this had been crude disinformation. Even we Soviets fell for it.

But when other voices were heard, an entirely different picture emerged. It transpired that the "Third World"—and that means the overwhelming majority of mankind—was mainly siding with Iraq and the peoples of the

Near East and the Arab world. That for many people Iraq is a victim of imperialist aggression on the part of the United States, for which oil is more important than human life. That Saddam Husayn is a national hero not just in Iraq. That the opinion of the overwhelming majority of people around the world is the same: Stop the slaughter, stop testing the magnificent "Stealth" bombers on a civilian population, and get down to negotiations.

There can be different attitudes to this. Clearly, nonetheless, not to reckon with the opinion of most of mankind would be tantamount to hiding your head in the sand.

Now for some general points that I hope are not hasty.

One. The war which seems to some dictated by noble aims strikes others as a crime on a global scale that poses a threat to all of mankind.

Two. It has been confirmed that these days even the mightiest power can resolve little. Israel has power, it has a grievance and a legitimate desire to defend itself. Yet if Israel does not respond to Saddam Husayn's missile provocations—or, rather, his latest provocations—it will probably strengthen its security very greatly, not to mention its international prestige. A paradox? No, those are the times we live in.

Three. About us. Of course, we should not directly link what is happening in Lithuania with events in the Gulf. But, on the whole, the Soviet Union—where in two months' time an all-Union referendum will decide whether the country will continue to exist (and it remains a great nuclear power)—is becoming one more threat to mankind.

Four. The events in the Gulf may strike or may already have struck some as representing a failure for new thinking. I see it differently. Yes, it is a terrible blow. But without new thinking we will solve nothing. More than that—without it we will not survive.

War Taking 'Increasingly Dangerous' Turn

LD2301140891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1212 GMT 23 Jan 91

[By TASS political observer Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jan (TASS)—The war in the Persian Gulf zone is taking an increasingly dangerous turn. Desert Storm, as the American generals call this grand-scale military operation, is far from limited to the desert. Its death-dealing winds do range freely over the dunes of the desert, but are mainly affecting towns with populations of many millions. The numbers of casualties are rising frighteningly, although the two opposing sides are both trying not to expand on this.

However "surgically clean" the mass bombing and missile strikes inflicted by the air forces of the multinational forces, and first and foremost by U.S. aircraft, may be, in the conditions of Baghdad and Basra, Iraq's two biggest cities, they cannot fail to produce considerable human casualties. This cannot be concealed by strictly censored official figures. Former Bundeswehr General Opel, referring to U.S. military experts, has disclosed in an interview with the Cologne magazine EXPRESS that 300,000 people have already died in Iraq in the course of the war, 100,000 in Baghdad alone. The figures are horrifying, though they do seem exaggerated. But a fact is still a fact—every day people are dying in their hundreds, if not thousands.

The actions of the Iraqi leadership are of a no less ominous character. While the U.S. actions can be explained, whatever the qualifications, as attempts to destroy strategic military targets in Iraq, including those in cities, Baghdad is deliberately resorting to random bombardment of densely populated locations in Israel, using Scud tactical missiles, purely to kill as many civilians as possible and to provoke Tel Aviv into making a counterstrike. The Iraqi generals are behaving in just the same way toward Saudi Arabia, without even an attempt at justification.

Nor can one fail to dwell on the Iraqi authorities' treatment of captured pilots of the multinational forces. It has been announced in Baghdad that they wil be used as "human shields" at a number of strategically important sites. Such threats are a direct violation of the relevant Geneva Conventions,and of the rules of civilized treatment of prisoners of war.

According to information received, the Iraqis have embarked on the implementation of the old plan to turn Kuwait's oil deposits into a "sea of fire." They have begun by setting alight wells at al-Wafrah and al-Shubayah and installations at the oil port Mina 'Abd-Allah. Such an escapade, whatever may be behind it, could be classed as a crime against the whole of humanity, because of the very grave ecological consequences not just for the region, but for the whole world as well. Evidently, the arsonists do not have the sense to see that Iraq will be one of the first to suffer from this.

The dangerous character of the developments on the Arabian peninsula has put the focus on the issue of ending the bloody conflcit as soon as possible. Many states, including the Soviet Union, are ready to subscribe to this demand. However, we shall be realistic—the path to peace lies via Baghdad's recognition that the demands made of it by the world community are justified and via its agreement to meet the relevant UN resolutions in full.

U.S. Said Fighting for 'Own Economic Interests'

PM2201153991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Report by correspondent V. Linnik: "What the Pragamatists Are Saying"]

[Text] New York, 21 Jan—There is no shortage of people in the United States who interpret the war in the Persian

Gulf as the Biblical Armageddon, which is to sound civilization's death knell. The weapons of destruction developed, unfortunately, far surpass all the prescriptions so far devised for living together in peace.

In a recent article former President Nixon, a pragamatist and realist, formulated the aims of the war being waged in the Persian Gulf in clear, unambiguous terms. The war is not on behalf of democracy, he wrote, since the restoration of power to the Kuwaiti amirs cannot, even by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be described as a battle for human rights. The war is being waged on behalf of U.S. economic interests, and there should be no qualms about that at all. By admitting this, he is essentially showing solidarity with the antiwar demonstrators now brandishing the slogan "No to the oil war" at numerous protest rallies. The difference is merely that the demonstrators consider such a war an outrage while the former president thinks that it should take place, since it is a just cause. Thus with a single stroke of the pen Nixon has removed the romantic veil which the United States has been accustomed to draw over all its military adventues—from Vietnam to Grenada and Panama.

Acknowledgement of this fact explains why the preceding diplomatic efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict were doomed to fail. For the United States they were no more than a game, satisfying the requirement that the conventions of international etiquette be observed. All the talks amounted merely to the issuing of ultimatums to Iraq to withdraw its troops from Iraq. Even hints of compromise, consideration of at least Iraq's minimal claims, were not considered as options.

Dozens of armed conflicts are going on in the world today. But Washington preferred for its direct and massive intervention the one that occurred in the Persian Gulf with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Since the seizure of the Kuwaiti oil fields almost one-quarter of the oil currently extracted in the world has been concentrated in Iraqi hands. The United States has no desire to allow that.

What kind of new world order is it without U.S. control of the sources of energy?

In this sense the United States is, of course, fighting in the Persian Gulf for its own economic interests. It is another question whether the country's national interests coincide with the interests of the oil monopolies. True, with 170 million automobiles on the road every American does indirectly depend upon uninterrupted oil supplies. But is it really impossible to safeguard the vital interest of every U.S. inhabitant by means other than the use of B-52 bombers and cruise missiles? After all, it has long been clear that U.S dependence on Near East oil should be ended. President Carter's energy policy was aimed at achieving precisely that. The development of alternative sources of energy, an energy-saving policy, and the development of its own fields—all this really existed and was contained in the policy. But it is cheaper for the oil monopolies to import oil from the Near East than to spend resources in carrying out a new, independent energy policy.

Since the outbreak of war this discussion has even intensified somewhat, although partisanship has been abandoned and the country has rallied around its leader. Although the unanimous Senate resolution gave support not to the President but to the commander in chief. This is a not unimportant detail which reflects the Democrats' reluctance to support everything in the Republican President's policy.

The more victorious the war seems, at first sight, to be for the United States—and both the military and journalists acknowledge this with amazement—the more insistently the question is asked here: What comes after Husayn is crushed?

While some people have gotten lost in conjecture about what the new world order proclaimed by the U.S. President in his September speech means, THE NEW YORK TIMES provided an answer in its Sunday issue. Under the headline "Pax Americana," it writes with polite understatement, it is quite possible that after the smoke clears America will find itself in the role of the sole superpower in the Near East...

The maintenance of future stability will require the intervention of a third force. The reader will have no trouble guessing which. Of course, it is the United States, whose military presence in the region, the newspaper claims, quoting Secretary of State Baker on this score, could last for months and possibly years after the defeat of Iraq. "There is nothing wrong in playing the role of world policeman once again," the newspaper NEWSDAY says reassuringly, echoing that logic.

At the same time there are quite a few people who disagree with such forecasts. The war will not bring peace to the powder keg that is the Near East, claims political observer S. Schonberg. It will not solve the problem of U.S. and West European dependency upon Near East oil.

The causes of the crisis in the Persian Gulf will outlive its end, argues E. Tuma in the same vein in NEWSDAY.

Ultimately the end of the war will pose with particular acuteness the question of solving the Israeli-Palestinian problem. The Arabs, Tuma writes, consider that the United States, its allies, and the United Nations have set a precedent in using sanctions and military force against Iraq for violating UN resolutions. They will soon be asking whether those countries and the United Nations are ready to seek the fulfillment of resolutions on the Palestinian problem with equal resolution. Refusal to do so will only reinforce the position of fundamentalists and radicals in the region. In the end the ultimate—"oil"—argument is also put in grave doubt. If Iraq employs "scorched earth" tactics in Kuwait, it will put

oil extraction back years. So even here the war might not prove not to be the best prescription for solving the problem...

Iraqi Military Potential 'Far From' Destroyed

LD2201204591 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS political news analyst Yuriy Tyssovskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—The war in the Gulf is gathering momentum. Western media heap piles of various reports, at times rather contradictory ones, upon readers about the multinational forces' successes in suppressing the potential of the Iraqi army.

The world's stock markets closely follow the tragedy that is unfolding in Iraq. It was precisely stock markets that first signalled, through business activity indicators, the prices of the dollar, oil and gold, that it was too early to trumpet triumph.

It can now be maintained that the course of war promoted a re-orientation of the world public opinion and, first of all, U.S. one, in evaluations of the war.

There is no denying that the achievements of the multinational forces are impressive, mainly due to the newest weapons which are at the disposal of the U.S. Army contingent and which are being sometimes tested in a combat situation for the first time.

The first estimates said that 50 to 80 per cent of Iraqi aircraft were destroyed at airfields and that almost the entire system of communications and control and a considerable part of the air defence system were neutralised.

To many a journalist, reports on air operations served as a ground for euphoria that made an imprint on public sentiments.

It must be noted that some statesmen and military leaders did not yield to those. Among them are British Prime Minister John Major and General Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, who immediately warned that the war might assume a protracted character.

Protracted to what extent? Perhaps, no one now can answer this question. The Iraqis take care of combat aircraft, keeping them in concrete shelters. The bunker of the main command of the Iraqi army apparently continues to function. Saddam Hussayn and his generals continue to direct the actions of the Iraqi Army from the bunker which is well protected against bombing raids. Saddam's main trump card—the modified scud missiles—have not been finally eliminated.

The U.S. intelligence obviously underestimated possibilities for the secret deployment of scuds. The original evaluations—according to which the stocks and facilities for the production of chemico-bacteriological weapons, to which Baghdad has not yet resorted, were almost fully destroyed—are being reconsidered.

Iraq's military potential is far from being destroyed. The BBC admitted that the British military believe that combat actions against Iraq turned out to be not so effective as was previously expected.

Allied aviation losses are mounting, with Tornado fighter bombers, which perform particularly dangerous assignments in low-altitude bombing, accounting for a large share of the losses.

Increasingly manifest are Saddam's plans to convert the war into ground battles in Kuwait.

The multinational forces are beginning to move to areas of direct confrontation with Iraqi divisions that have entrenched themselves in the occupied country. This is a formidable force: 300,000 Iraqi servicemen are deployed in fortifications along the border with Saudi Arabia. Defences distributed in depth are manned by 150,000 officers and men of elite republican guard, backed up by 100,000 soldiers from other units stationed in proximity to the Kuwaiti theater of operations.

The anti-Iraq coalition's losses in manpower and materiel have been minimal so far, whereas it can be expected that they will sharply grow when offensive operations on the ground begin. That will be fraught with consequences for the unity of the anti-Iraq coalition politically, and with mounting anti-war sentiments in the United States and European countries.

Future Soviet Involvement in Mideast in Doubt

PM2201182391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Nadein report: "The Morning After the Start of the War"]

[Text] Washington—According to authoritative forecasts the allies "should have" lost 129 aircraft in the first three and a half days of hostilities against Iraq. Actual losses have been one-tenth of that.

This prediction appeared as a result of hundreds of war scenario models' being "run" on computers at the Brookings Institute. The difference between the forecast and the actual result was not only pleasant for the researchers, but also discouraging.

It is too soon to talk about an end to hostilities, but some things can be predicted without fearing the outcome. In particular, the forecast figure for losses as a result of ground combat estimated by the same institute—10,000 killed and 35,000 wounded—will also be corrected, and downgraded, by reality.

There is no doubt that government leaders and top military men knew about these forecasts. That is why none of the figures quoted above has ever appeared in official speeches or documents.

The 8,000 sorties against targets in Iraq and Kuwait have left the Americans in a state of joyous excitement. The warnings from the military—including the President, who is commander in chief—that war is never "cheap or easy" are meeting with approval but are by no means shared by everyone.

The public mood is accurately reflected by the sensitive mechanism that is the stock market. "Judging by the way world markets have reacted (to the Gulf War), victory over Iraq has already been won," THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote in its financial review.

Incidentally, the fervor that has gripped the country is entirely natural. Watching at home on TV as pilots use laser-guided devices to deliver individual bombs from an enormous altitude right on the Defense Ministry or through the gates of a missile hangar, the public feels even more involved in their country's victory. A victory about which nobody has any doubt.

Although war is considered one of the most unpredictable of phenomena, the postwar settlement in the Near East is making specialists use the most cautious, noncommittal expressions. Nobody wants to be a latecomer at the winners' party, and there is no doubt that the Arab participants in the coalition will be taking the most active part in the postwar arrangement of the Near East. They will not just be participating—they will recognize as world leader, albeit with certain riders, whoever has proved to be the war leader.

Iraq was the leading military power in the region. Was? Isn't the past tense rather premature? Ultimately, the coalition has declared its only aim to be the liberation of Kuwait, and, arguing theoretically, Saddam Husayn still has the way out offered him by the Soviet president: A belated but immediate troop withdrawal from the neighboring country.

The United States followed the Iraqi dictator's reaction if not with sinking heart, then very tensely. The fact is that if Saddam Husayn had accepted this option he would have created problems for the coalition that would be hard to resolve. By his mere existence Husayn would daily pose the threat of a resumption of war in the region. There is no doubt that Kuwait's liberation would be followed by an ultimatum demanding his unconditional capitulation.

But now everything is in the past. Observers believe that henceforth Husayn will hardly have any chance to display a love of peace. A recent opinion poll showed that most Americans consider it inexpedient to "leave Husayn in peace if he leaves Kuwait in peace." Moreover, a new option is now being discussed increasingly vocally for the third, ground phase of the war. Namely, not to proceed head-on, attacking from southwest of the fortified positions in Kuwait, but to directly invade Iraqi territory. "From the standpoint of strategy, the right way to fight this war would be to deploy U.S. troops not where they are now, in Saudi Arabia, but 400 miles to the west, along the Baghdad-Medina highway. From there our troops would pose a very plausible threat to Baghdad," a NEW YORK TIMES military commentator writes.

But what about the "liberation of Kuwait" as a framework outlined by the UN Security Council decisions? It is doomed. And not just because war produces bitterness that seeks to vent itself in vengeance against the aggressor. But also because in many countries, this clash is seen as an opportunity to decisively smash the stalemate in the Near East.

But however impressive the allies' victory may seem, it is quite obvious that building a world exclusively on Israeli terms is an unrealistic task. Future talks will be impossible without mutual compromise, and the G. Bush administration has already hinted to its Near East ally that it does not want Israel to be the tail wagging the dog.

Having managed through diplomacy to get Israel to refrain from seeking its solemnly proclaimed retribution against Iraq even after the second "Scud" missile bombardment, the United States has resolved not only the purely military task connected with keeping the Arab countries in the coalition. For a future settlement—or to be more accurate, for the process of reaching a settlement—it is very important that Israel has for the first time accepted U.S. guarantees of its security.

The shipment to Israel of two batteries of "Patriot" antimissile missiles is being seen today as a payoff for prudence. These missiles have demonstrated their very great reliability in Saudi Arabia by preventing even one of the 10 "Scuds" fired by Iraq from reaching its target.

Specialists believe that the "Patriot" represents the United States' first successful step in "Star Wars." It is an SDI kitten that has not yet turned into a fully grown tiger.

Opinions about the "Scuds" held by Iraq are becoming increasingly skeptical. The damage done to Israel by several of these missiles has indeed been minimal and comparable to a minor highway accident.

However, the measures to repulse this threat are already having important political results. "The shipment of another two 'Patriot' antimissile missile batteries to Israel gives the Israeli Government more time to show that it is not jeopardizing its own citizens by acceding to the U.S. request not to seek retribution for the Iraqi missiles," THE WASHINGTON POST wrote in an editorial and went on to stress that "there is now an atmosphere of special trust between Israel and the United States."

Undoubtedly, the Israeli leaders realize the dangers of blindly following U.S. policy. However, they will have to accept the new realities of the Near East. Or rather, they already are accepting them.

The main point is that the entire course of the "Desert Storm" operation has made not just a favorable but a surprisingly profound impression on Israelis. That small

country's military potential is disproportionately great, and yet it is more mysterious than unlimited. Recognition of the real power of the United States as leader of the coalition will hardly make Israel abandon its own interests. However, after the war its demands will become more realistic and its policy more predictable.

Excluding itself for reasons of domestic policy from not only the active but also the symbolic members of the victorious coalition, the Soviet Union has made its further participation in the process of a Near East settlement more a question of diplomatic inertia than a reflection of the real interest of the region's countries in a Soviet presence. When Saddam Husayn disappears from the political scene there will be nobody left there who will need the support of a superpower that is unsure of itself.

Akhromeyev Expects Protracted Gulf War

AU2301114091 Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with USSR Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "USSR Marshal Akhromeyev: 'Conflict Not of Short Duration'"]

[Text] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] How do you assess the situation in the Gulf from a military-strategic point of view?

[Akhromeyev] It was known before that the United States and its allies of the anti-Iraqi coalition have superior strength as far as air and naval forces are concerned. They knew how to use this advantage and dealt several severe blows to the air and missile bases, the air defense, the nuclear center, and Iraq's state and military command and control system.

The clearer the situation, the more obvious it becomes that the Iraqi control system has been disrupted at the highest level but that it is not paralyzed. Nevertheless, the most important thing is that the ground forces—Iraq's main power—has not yet come into action.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Would a retaliatory strike by Israel lead to a regional Middle East war?

[Akhromeyev] If Israel were to enter the war, it might mean that the entire Near and Middle East goes up in flames. Neither the United States nor Israel can be interested in such a development. From a purely technical standpoint, Israel would have to violate Jordanian or Syrian air space or territory if it wanted to strike against Iraq. Israel will avoid either case because this would entail great difficulties. Considering all this, as well as other political arguments, one can assume that Israel will try to remain outside this conflict.

As far as the duration of the war is concerned, it is difficult to make exact predictions. First of all, it cannot be absolutely ruled out that with UN mediation the war could perhaps be stopped after all, although this is highly unlikely. Second, if the war continues, then it will be increasingly harsher, considering the forces of the opposing parties. To achieve their main objective, the anti-Iraqi coalition has to use its ground forces. I do not think that an army that has nine years of war experience can be paralyzed simply by air attacks. The conflict will drag on rather long.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Will the USSR participate in the war?

[Akhromeyev] In the military areas along the southern border of the USSR, measures were taken to strengthen the air defense system. Combat readiness has been brought to a level that is necessary when there is a war going on near our borders. However, these steps do not mean that the Soviet Union will enter this war. I believe that the USSR standpoint not to participate with its Armed Forces in this conflict has solidified even more.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] What initiatives could the international community take to end this conflict?

[Akhromeyev] A war is easy to start but difficult to stop. Yet, the Security Council could probably find solutions that are acceptable to both sides.

Saddam Husayn has not yet been beaten and defeated. He is obviously not going to surrender, as demanded by the anti-Iraqi coalition.

Petrovskiy Discusses Gulf War With Officials

Meets U.S., SFRY Envoys

LD2101101391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0846 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—Meetings between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Milan Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR, and Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, have taken place in connection with the Kuwaiti crisis.

It was ascertained during the meeting with the SFRY ambassador that the actions of the Soviet Union and the Nonaligned Movement at this acutely critical moment in the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone are following the same line—the earliest possible end to the war and the establishment of peace on the basis of the known Security Council resolutions.

The understanding was again confirmed during the meeting with the U.S. ambassador that the way out of the crisis demands that Iraq strictly and unconditionally comply with the extremely important demand of the Security Council—the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait.

Meets Indian Foreign Minister

LD2201142291 Moscow TASS in English 1138 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Indian Foreign Minister Vidya Charan Shukla made a brief stopover in Moscow today en route to Belgrade. He had a talk with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy. They discussed in detail the Gulf conflict and the recent exchange of messages between President Gorbachev and Indian Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar.

The sides noted the urgent need to pool the world community's efforts and put into play the potential of individual countries, regional organisations, as well as the Non-Alignment Movement in order to prevent a further escalation of hostilities, to localise and then settle the conflict in keeping with U.N. Security Council resolutions.

A quick and unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, the sides believe, will not only stop the bloodshed, but also pave the way to a broad dialogue on problems that have accumulated in the Middle East. In this context the post-crisis system in the Middle East and the establishment of a reliable regional security structure Were discussed.

Meets Italian Envoy

LD2201120191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1041 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—The state of affairs in the Persian Gulf zone was discussed during the course of a meeting which took place here on Monday between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Ferdinando Salleo, the Italian ambassador in Moscow. During the thorough conversation the position, in principle, of both countries—in favor of Iraq rigorously carrying out the resolutions of the UN Security Council adopted after the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces—was confirmed.

Belonogov Meets Iranian Envoy, Discuss Gulf

LD2301135491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1332 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov today received Nematollah Yazdi, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR. Questions concerning the conflict in the Persian Gulf zone were discussed. Note was taken of the sides' coinciding positions on achieving a very rapid end to the war in the region and not allowing it to spread. Certain aspects of bilateral relations were also touched upon during the conversation.

Bessmertnykh, Canadian Envoy Discuss Gulf

LD2201095891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received Michael Richard Bell, the Canadian ambassador in Moscow, who handed him a message from Joseph Clark, the Canadian secretary of state for external affairs. They exchanged views on a number of issues relating to bilateral relations. In discussing the situation in the Persian Gulf region a common view was expressed in favor of overcoming the current tragic stage in the developments of the conflict, provoked by Iraq, as quickly as possible.

Soviets, Others Enter Iran From Iraq

PM2201155191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS Report: "Safe Arrival"]

[Text] Tehran, 21 Jan—A group of Soviet citizens who had been in Iraq crossed the Iranian border this morning. After formalities have been completed they will be taken to the city of Bakhtaran, where they will be met by staffers of the USSR Embassy in Iran and then transported by bus to the Iranian capital. The Soviet specialists' crossing from Iraq was carried out safely.

In the last few days the number of foreign citizens arriving in Iran from Iraq has considerably increased. According to IRNA figures, by midday Sunday 440 citizens of Algeria, Tunisia, Yugoslavia, Ethiopia, Yemen, Bahrain, Somalia, Afghanistan, and other countries had crossed the Iranian border.

Volunteers Call; Others Protest at U.S. Embassy

PM2101162591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 p 1

[S. Frolov report: "Volunteers Not Needed"]

[Text] A U.S. Embassy spokesman has reported that yesterday, after the start of the war in the Persian Gulf became known, several dozen young people—mainly former "afgantsy"—called the U.S. Embassy and asked to volunteer for the front line. However, for all the Americans' respect for the solidarity shown, it is not so simple to send to the front line those who wish to go.

At 1630 the same day, 17 January, a protest demonstration was held outside the U.S. Embassy in which approximately 100 Arab students and Soviet citizens close to them in terms of their views participated.

Embassy staffers were forced to cancel a preplanned briefing for Soviet journalists. The embassy consular section temporarily suspended its work.

East Europe

'Heated' Debate on Baltics, Pact in CSFR

PM2101165191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7

[Report by correspondent A. Krushinskiy: "Heated Atmosphere"]

[Text] Prague, 17 Jan—Yesterday the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly discussed at an emergency sitting questions relating to the situation in the Baltic and the country's membership of the Warsaw Pact.

The discussion took place in a heated atmosphere. Communist Deputy M. Hrebenicek advocated restraint on the "Baltic problem." He pointed out that the situation can be solved only within the existing USSR Constitution and added:

"I want to point out the need to ensure the national, political, cultural, and social rights of all the population of Lithuania and the other Baltic states, regardless of origin. You get the impression that, in addition to the well known historical causes of the worsening economic and social situation, the discriminatory policy of the present Lithuanian leadership and its politically problematical stance vis-a-vis union organs are to some extent direct causes of the worsening situation."

Civic Forum representative Sychra urged that important decisions not be made without exhaustive information.

The legislature adopted two proposed draft decisions by overwhelming majority: The government, in particular, was instructed to facilitate the process of speeding up the elimination of the military structure of the Warsaw Pact. It was decided to send two Federal Assembly deputies to Lithuania as observers.

Envoy Briefs CSFR Official on Lithuania, Gulf

LD2001081491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2001 GMT 19 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Bazhanov]

[Text] Prague, 19 Jan (TASS)—Jiri Dienstbier, CSFR deputy premier and foreign minister, received Boris Pankin, USSR ambassador to the CSFR, at the latter's request today. The Soviet ambassador briefed the minister on the Soviet Government's position on the tragic events in Lithuania. The document stresses that the Soviet Government does everything necessary to ensure that similar events are never repeated elsewhere or in Lithuania. The document stresses that the Soviet Union will under no circumstances deviate from the perestroyka process.

In Jiri Dienstbier's opinion, it would be appropriate if similar problems are discussed within the framework of the CSCE pan-European platform. He briefed the Soviet ambassador on reasons for the forthcoming meeting between the foreign ministers of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia in Budapest and invited Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, the new Soviet foreign minister, to visit Czechoslovakia.

At the end of the meeting, the Soviet ambassador briefed Jiri Dienstbier on the official Soviet statement on the Iraqi attack on Israel, which, in particular, contains an appeal to the Iraqi Government to adopt a realistic position and expresses hope that Arab world leaders will understand the situation correctly and will not be guided by emotions. The Soviet Union also hopes the Israeli Government shows restraint and resolutely calls again for solving the Kuwaiti crisis on the basis of the UN Security Council resolution.

West Europe

EC Postpones Talks in Protest at Baltic Events

LD2201131991 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS corespondent Aleksandr Krivykh]

[Text] Strasbourg January 22 TASS—European Community Commission Vice-President Frans Andriessen said in Strasbourg on Monday evening that the EC Commission had decided to postpone talks on scientific and technical cooperation between the European Community and the Soviet Union.

Addressing the European Parliament, an EC consultative body, he said that the decision to postpone the talks was made because of events in Latvia. According to Andriessen, the EC expects that "the present situation will prompt constructive conclusions".

Reportedly Decides To Slow Aid

AU2201162491 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Brussels, Jan 22 (AFP)—The European Community (EC) decided here Tuesday to slow down the execution of aid projects in the Soviet Union following the latest Soviet crackdown in Latvia.

The political director of Luxembourg's Foreign Ministry, Jean-Jaques Kasel, said after a meeting of EC political directors that aid projects would be maintained for the present, but some would be slowed down.

Mr. Kasel added that the Luxembourg presidency of the EC would use a human rights committee of the 34-nation Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to demand an explanation from Moscow for the Baltic violence.

He added that an EC decision in November to work on a major EC- Soviet accord on political, economic and cultural cooperation "is not now on the agenda".

On January 14, after 13 demonstrators were shot dead in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, EC foreign ministers agreed to suspend aid and economic cooperation if there was a repetition of violence in the Baltic republics.

Tuesday's decision follows the killings of five demonstrators in the Latvian capital of Riga on Sunday.

Mr. Kasel said that an initial donation of emergency aid worth 325 million dollars would not be affected by the latest violence.

He added that a decision to execute a previously-agreed guaranteed loan of 650 million dollars still needed to be made by EC finance ministers next week, and that work on technical aid worth 520 million dollars would be slowed down.

French 'Centrist' Gulf War Policy Examined

PM2301101391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "View from Paris"]

[Excerpts] A few days after the start of the war France has decided, obviously not without pressure from its allies, to make amendments to its doctrine of participation in combat operations. Whereas formerly they were restricted to the territory of Kuwait, now Paris does not rule out conducting combat operations in Iraq too. [passage omitted]

So far 12 French Jaguars have made just a few sorties to bomb military targets in Kuwait while U.S. aircraft have made dozens of sorties. This caution on France's part is explained by observers by political reasons. France wants to preserve its positions in the Arab world and a certain independence with regard to the United States and is continuing to insist on the need to convene an international conference on the Near East. France, its officials point out, is "thinking about the future." At the same time it agreed to take part in the war, F. Mitterrand noted, in order when it ends to have the opportunity to take part as a full member of the Western coalition in the peace talks at which questions connected with the Near East will be resolved.

This "centrist" line on Paris' part has led to the point where it has become a target for criticism both in the Magreb countries for its "solidarity" with Washington and at the same time in the United States and Israel for its caution, lack of resolve, and reluctance to "spoil relations" with the Arab world. Indeed in France itself this dual position is being attacked. "In this war France is making a military and a political mistake. We have no concept and no aims," former president V. Giscard d'Estaing stated. A number of figures are persistently demanding that French troops fight the aggressor "side by side" with the Americans.

This duality, the press indicates, is partly linked with J.-P. Chevenement, who has opposed France's participation in military operations, intended to resign, and stated that this war does not accord with France's long-term interests. Socialist Party deputies close to him have in general voted in the legislature against France's involvement in the military conflict.

After Paris had been subjected to fierce attacks from Israeli legislators for its deliveries of combat equipment to Baghdad, F. Mitterrand was obliged to telephone Israeli President H. Herzog. He said that France had supplied Iraq only with conventional types of weapons and not with the missiles which Baghdad has launched against Israel. [passage omitted]

Problems With Troop Pullout From FRG Viewed

PM1601110591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Belousov and Major S. Popov: "Withdrawal Schedule Threatened"]

[Text] Western Group of Forces—The schedule for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from German territory is quite dynamic: approximately 30 percent a year of personnel and equipment in the first three years and 10-15 percent in 1994. However, there is already a threat that this plan will not be carried out. It was planned that 168 shipments [transport] and 9 convoys [eshelon] would be dispatched by the middle of January, but only half of these have actually left. The main reason for this is that the transit of units from the Western Group of Forces through Poland is not possible.

A sitting of the Western Group of Forces Military Council was devoted to a discussion of the prevailing situation concerning the withdrawal of forces, with Soviet legislators and experts headed by L. Sharin, acting chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, participating in it.

Colonel General M. Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces and USSR Government plenipotentiary on the temporary stationing of Soviet forces in Germany and their withdrawal; Lieutenant General V. Grebenyuk, member of the Military Council and chief of the Western Group of Forces Political Directorate; and Major General I. Podgornyy, acting chief of staff of the Group, stressed in their reports that the situation is complex. As is known, the Polish Republic's main condition for its consent to the transit is the conclusion of an agreement with the USSR on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland by the end of 1991. And until this question is resolved our troops will have to return home from Germany by going on a "round the world trip."

Thus, one of the Soviet divisions which is starting its redeployment to the Carpathian Military District, will have to go the long way around by sea instead of taking the direct way home which is about 1,000 km. And the

possible cost of such a withdrawal is shown by one fact alone—that we will have to pay around 7 billion Deutsche marks just for loading onto the ferry (if we go by sea). According to Col. Gen. M. Burlakov, such unforeseen and forced expenses should be borne by the German side.

Major General A. Kozlov, first deputy chief of the Western Group of Forces Political Directorate, and Major General A. Mitrofanov, chief of the Group's Cadres Directorate, who addressed the Military Council sitting, focused attention on the lack of a clear concept for the withdrawal of the forces and a well-conceived cadre policy on the stationing of servicemen returning home.

The package of problems connected with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from German territory, which people's deputies and experts intend to broach at the talks in Bonn, was determined.

Gorbachev, Sakharov To Remain on Nobel List

PM2201142591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 7

[IZVESTIYA correspondent report: "History Cannot Be Revoked; the Nobel Committee Has No Intention of Reviewing Its Decision"]

[Text] Helsinki—A little more than a month ago torchlight processions took place in Oslo in honor of the Soviet president. In small Kirkenes young men and women invited me to sit with them in the "Gorby" cafe where guests are greeted by a portrait of the Soviet leader.

Norway, like other Nordic countries, is now seething with demonstrations and rallies in defense of Lithuania. Calls can be heard demanding that the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize winner be deprived of this lofty title. Passions have also been inflamed by Ye. Bonner's statement. As is well-known, she has insistently requested—that Academician A. Sakharov be struck off the prize winners' rolls so that his name should not stand next to the other name. How realistic is this action, if you sweep aside the loud propaganda? I put this question to Norway's Nobel Institute. Geir Lundestag, the institute's director and secretary of the Nobel Committee, replied:

"We have still not received an official letter from Mrs. Bonner. Like you, I heard about her statement on the radio."

[IZVESTIYA] Will her request be met?

[Lundestag] Of course not. In 1975 Academician Sakharov's name was inserted into the Nobel Peace Prize's 90-year history. It is not in the committee's traditions to review its decisions.

[IZVESTIYA] Does this also apply to M.S. Gorbachev?

[Lundestag] Of course. I want to remind you that the choice of this candidacy was not indisputable from the outset. Nevertheless the five committee members, responsible to their conscience alone, voted unanimously.

[IZVESTIYA] What is your personal opinion of events in the Baltic?

[Lundestag] Members of the Nobel Committee do not issue political statements, but, as a private individual, I unconditionally condemn the use of military force against the people. [end Lundestag]

Like the other Scandinavian countries, no one in Norway seems to be trying to obtain comprehensive information about the events. The actions of Landsbergis himself, who recently said in Oslo that the Soviet Union cannot be accepted into the new Europe because it does not belong either to Europe or Asia and is a "monster, an invalid, and a state of terror" are not being cast in the slightest doubt. We know the jargon devised in Lithuania to talk to the "nonindigenous" population. The Nordic countries' mass media also effectively reject from the outset this population's opinion.

Latin America & Caribbean

Castro Thanks Gorbachev for Anniversary Message

PM2201133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Message to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR president, from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of Cuba's Council of State and Council of Ministers, on the 32d anniversary of the Cuban Revolution; date of message not given]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the USSR,

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

On behalf of the Communist Party, the government, and the people of Cuba, I want to convey to you our most sincere gratitude for the fraternal message on the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the victory of the Cuban Revolution.

I would like to take advantage of this occasion to once more express to you and all the Soviet people the feelings of our deep friendship and readiness to continue developing and improving the multifaceted cooperation which has grown up between Cuba and the USSR.

Fraternal greetings,

[Signed] Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and president of Cuba's Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Supreme Soviet

Presidium Views Gulf, Domestic Issues 22 Jan

LD2201201691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1905 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—A session of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov, took place in Moscow today.

The first item on the agenda was discussion of the situation in the Persian Gulf. Dmitriy Yazov, minister of defense, and Aleksandr Belonogov, the deputy minister of foreign affairs, gave information on this issue. Participants in the session expresed deep concern that the crisis in the Persian Gulf continues to grow more acute and the military activities are expanding and becoming more dangerous.

The presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet delivered a statement to systematically continue the line taken by the Soviet leadership aimed at stopping the military activities and restoring peace in the Persian Gulf area in the quickest possible time.

Information was heard from the groups of the USSR peoples' deputies who went to Latvia, Georgia, and South Ossetia on the instructions of the Supreme Soviet.

The session examined the USSR president's suggested decrees on urgent measures aimed at fighting economic sabotage, on organizing the work of denationalization and privatization of property, and on organizing the work on demonopolization of the national economy.

The session also heard a report by Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov on current measures for stabilizing the national economy and transitioning to the market economy. They were approved by the Supreme Soviet.

Deputies' Group To Monitor Gulf Developments

PM1801123591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[USSR Supreme Soviet resolution signed by A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Kremlin, Moscow, on 16 January: "On the Development of the Situation in the Persian Gulf Region"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To take note of the USSR Foreign Ministry report on the latest events connected with the crisis in the Persian Gulf and on the steps being taken by the USSR Government to try to resolve it by political means.

2. The USSR Supreme Soviet appeals to all sides involved in the conflict to continue the search for a political solution to the problem and, in this connection, supports the UN secretary general's 15 January 1991 initiative aimed at averting war in the Persian Gulf region and stipulating that, once the current crisis is resolved, every effort will be made to achieve an all-embracing settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestinian problem.

3. The USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee in conjunction with representatives from the chambers' other interested committees and commissions is to set up a standing deputies' group to monitor the development of the situation in the Persian Gulf zone.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, the Kremlin, 16 January 1991

Debate, Decision on Media 'Objectivity' Reported

PM2201152591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by IZVESTIYA legislative correspondents A. Stepovoy and S. Chugayev from the Kremlin: "Fourth Session Over; Fifth in a Month"]

[Excerpts] The fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet lasted four months. Interrupted for the scheduled Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the session with its renewed participants took another seven working days to complete its outlined program.

The session's last day of work was 16 January, although there was no complete confidence in the morning that deputies would succeed in examining all the outlined matters. [passage omitted]

A.I. Lukyanov read what he considered an unusual document. It was indeed unprecedented: Members of two influential legislative groups—the Interregional Deputies' Group and "Soyuz" ["Union"]—sent a joint appeal to the sitting's presidium. It contained a request for the Central Television relay of A. Nevzorov's program (the decision on this relay was adopted at the morning sitting) to be accompanied by a showing of video material at the disposal of the Lithuanian permanent mission in Moscow. A debate started, in the course of which sharp criticism of the Central Television leadership was voiced.

USSR President M.S. Gorbachev joined the debate. He backed one speaker's proposal for control over the mass media by the country's legislature to be introduced with a view to their attaining genuine objectivity. During the ensuing debates, stressing that difficult times and serious difficulties await the country and all of us over the coming months and that it is more important than ever before for the mass media to take an objective stance during this period, the USSR president unexpectedly proposed the temporary suspension of the Press Law.

The proposal evoked an unequivocal reaction from deputies. Many speeches voiced the idea that the main and virtually the only achievement of perestroyka—glasnost—was threatened.

In response to these speeches, M.S. Gorbachev said he was not pressing for the suspension of the Press Law but advocating objectivity in the mass media. Advocating that all channels and all newspapers present objective viewpoints and not the positions held by narrow political groups.

As a result of the debate, it was decided by a majority to instruct the country's Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals to formulate measures to ensure objective press, radio, and television coverage of events in the country. [passage omitted].

PRAVDA Carries 1991 State Plan Resolution

PM2201101791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Resolution signed by A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the Kremlin, Moscow on 12 January: "USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution 'On the USSR Government's All-Union Forecast on the Functioning of the Country's Economy in 1991 and on the State Plan for 1991 in Spheres Under USSR Jurisdiction'"]

[Text] Guided by the Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy, the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolution "On the Country's Situation and Priority Measures to Overcome the Prevailing Socioeconomic and Political Crisis," the USSR law "On the Foundations of the Economic Relations of the USSR and the Union and Autonomous Republics," as well as other legislative acts defining the legal basis of the functioning of the national economy in 1991, the USSR Supreme Soviet **resolves:**

1. To place on record the USSR Government's all-Union forecast on the functioning of the country's economy in 1991 worked out on the basis of the intentions of enterprises, sectors, and republics regarding their socioeconomic development in 1991. To approve the intentions of enterprises and republics regarding the further concentration of financial and material resources on solving social problems, raising living standards, and improving environmental safety, which will make it possible to increase the proportion of national income used on current consumption to 87 percent and to ensure 20-percent growth in capital investment in the nonproduction sphere compared with 1990.

To instruct republic governments to make use of the all-union forecasts on the functioning of the country's economy in 1991 when drawing up their economic and structural policy and interrepublic ties, as well as when forecasting the development of the republics' economies.

To continue implementing restoration work in Armenia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, and other regions affected by earthquakes, in accordance with the national economic plans of the USSR and the union republics.

2. To ratify the state plan for 1991 in spheres under USSR jurisdiction, as worked out by the USSR Government with the participation of Union republic governments and taking account of proposals from USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' permanent commissions.

To establish that the scale of work and output deliveries for the state envisaged in the state plan for 1991 in spheres under USSR jurisdiction must be executed and incorporated in the plans of enterprises, associations, and organizations.

The USSR Government has been instructed to implement measures to provide incentives for the fulfillment of this work and these shipments with a view to creating the conditions for ensuring the scale of work and output deliveries to the state set in the state plan for 1991 in spheres under USSR jurisdiction.

3. To ensure in 1991 the centralized implementation of the adopted measures on providing social support to the population out of the Union budget and other sources to a total of 47.6 billion rubles [R], including:

R330 million for increasing the length of maternity leave for working women from 56 to 70 calendar days;

R230 million for increasing the length of partially paid leave to care for infants up to the age of 18 months;

R70 million for increasing spending norms on food in preschool institutions;

R2.5 billion for increasing the benefits paid for caring for infants up to the age of 18 months to the level of the minimum wage;

R400 million for introducing benefit payments equivalent to 50 percent of the minimum wage for caring for infants up to the age of 18 months payable to working women who have been in their jobs for less than a year and to nonworking women;

R106 million for increasing benefits for children in care (guardianship) to the level of the minimum wage;

R50 million for increasing the benefits paid for caring for infants up to the age of 18 months (per child when two or more children are born) to the level of the minimum wage;

R42 million for issuing temporary unemployment certificates to one of the parents (ward or guardian) educating a disabled child up to the age of 16 for the entire period of the disabled child's hospital treatment;

R30 million for increasing the level of benefit for draftees' children to the level of the minimum wage;

R15 million for benefits for caring for children up to the age of 18 months to be paid to working women below the age of 18, irrespective of the length of time they have been in their jobs;

R11 million for providing for orphans and children without parental care who are studying at schools or VUZ's [higher educational establishments], irrespective of the type of educational establishment or its departmental subordination, the privileges established under existing legislation for this category of children resident in orphanages or boarding schools;

R372 million for improving material provision for children and teenagers with physical or mental disabilities and studying in special educational establishments;

R0.6 million for increasing to the minimum wage level the benefits paid to single parents (widows and widowers) and former residents of orphanages (boarding schools) for children's education and upkeep;

R0.4 million for introducing for widowers with children but not receiving a loss-of-breadwinner pension the same benefits received by widows under existing legislation;

R8.214 billion for paying monthly benefits of 50 percent of the minimum wage for every child aged between 18 months and 6 years maintained by a family if the average aggregate income per family member is not more than twice the minimum wage;

R687 million for one-shot benefits amounting to three times the minimum wage payable on the birth of a child;

R358 million for increasing to the level of 50 percent of the minimum wage the monthly benefit payable to single mothers for each child up to the age of 16 (up to the age of 18 for a student not in receipt of a grant);

R1 million for increasing to the level of 50 percent of the minimum wage the monthly benefit for juveniles whose parents are being sought by internal affairs organs under a court order for failing to pay alimony;

R19.7 billion for implementing measures bringing in new pensions legislation;

R270 million for granting additional privileges to invalids and Great Patriotic War veterans in connection with the 45th anniversary of the victory;

R2.05 billion for increasing spending norms for medicines and other needs at health care institutions;

R2.621 billion for implementing additional measures to step up health care and improve the material position of the population living on radioactive territory as a result of the Chernobyl AES [nuclear electric power station] accident and to improve medical services and social provision to the people who took part in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl AES accident;

R90 million for increasing temporary unemployment benefits for certain categories of workers and employees;

R1.6 billion for introducing grants for all successful VUZ and secondary specialized educational establishment students on sandwich courses and on increasing the size of grants in the aforesaid educational establishments;

R177 million for introducing regional coefficients for grants to postgraduates, VUZ students, and students at secondary specialized and vocational and technical educational establishments (for whom such coefficients do not currently exist) studying in areas and localities where such coefficients are applied to the wages of workers and employees in the nonproduction sectors of the national economy;

R2.2 billion for boosting the population's income by freeing citizens from tax liability and reducing income tax by raising the tax-free earnings allowance to R100 and lowering tax rates on earnings of up to R150 a month;

R380 million for boosting the population's income through the phased abolition of the tax on bachelors, single citizens, and citizens with small families;

R740 million for introducing wage supplements payable to workers and employees who have been continuously employed at enterprises, institutions, and organizations located in the southern rayons of Irkutsk Oblast, Krasnoyarsk Kray, the Far East, the Buryat ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], and Chita Oblast, for which payment of such supplements has not currently been established;

R110 million for introducing regional coefficients for the wages of workers and employees at enterprises, institutions, and organizations located in the northern and eastern rayons of Vologda Oblast, for which payment of such supplements has not currently been established;

R10 million for increasing the regional coefficient for the wages of workers at enterprises and organizations in the production sectors of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry and that ministry's mine rescue units located in Karaganda Oblast;

R2.53 billion for introducing new pay conditions for workers in the sphere of culture, health care, social welfare, and public education;

R1.65 billion for setting new tariffs, scales, and other pay conditions for workers in those sectors of the nonproduction sphere for whom they have not yet been introduced;

and R61 million for increasing the wages of workers at arbitration tribunals and internal affairs organs.

4. To draw Union republic governments' particular attention to the need to unconditionally fulfill the level of shipments set in the state plan for 1991 and stemming from the economic agreement between the USSR and the Union republics on the questions of shipments of food and agricultural raw materials to all-union stocks in 1991.

With a view to ensuring these shipments the USSR Government is to elaborate and, if necessary, implement corresponding measures of an economic nature. Monitoring shall be arranged of the fulfillment of shipments for sectors in the agro-industrial complex.

5. To instruct the Union republic foreign currency committee, the governments of Union and autonomous republics, local soviet executive committees, and labor collectives to make provision, when formulating the areas in which foreign currency resources will be used, for their priority use in the acquisition of advanced technology, raw and other materials, components, and equipment for increasing consumer goods production and the scale of provision of services to the population.

To pass on to the Union republic foreign currency committee for examination the proposals from USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chambers' permanent commissions on questions of the use of foreign currency resources.

6. To instruct Union and autonomous republic governments and local soviet executive committees to seek additional material resources and sources for encouraging and enhancing labor collectives' interest to increase consumer goods production and the scale of provision of services to the population.

7. To instruct the USSR Government, republic governments, and local soviet executive committees together with ministries and departments to elaborate and implement practical measures to renew the functioning of production facilities which have been shut down for environmental reasons and to ensure that they are environmentally safe, devoting particular attention to the urgent restoration of production capacities technologically linked with the production of goods for the population's needs—particularly medicines—as well as the production of heat and electricity.

8. The USSR Government, together with republic governments, shall elaborate within one month and adopt measures of an economic nature to ensure a reduction in the number of unfinished construction projects in the country in 1991.

9. The USSR Government, on the basis of the state plan in spheres under USSR jurisdiction ratified by this resolution, shall ratify the corresponding indicators for 1991 as regards sectors and national economic complexes, and provide notification of them within 10 days to USSR ministries and departments, intersector state conglomerates, state associations, and concerns.

10. In implementing the plan for 1991 the USSR Government and the Union and autonomous republic governments shall take effective measures to ensure that the national economy works more stably, that social support for the population and employment are provided on this basis, and that the consumer market is stabilized.

11. The USSR Government shall examine the composite conclusion of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' permanent commissions on the draft state plan for 1991 in spheres under USSR jurisdiction and the all-Union forecast for the functioning of the economy this year, and take the necessary measures to implement the proposals contained in it.

12. The USSR Supreme Soviet committees and the chambers' permanent commissions shall monitor the progress of the execution of the state plan for 1991 in spheres under USSR jurisdiction.

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.
Moscow, The Kremlin, 12 January 1991.

USSR-FRG Treaties' Ratification Recommended

PM1401122991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Prospects for Cooperation Opening Up"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee continued on 9 January its examination of the package of Soviet-German treaties stemming from the final settlement with respect to Germany.

It is a question of the five basic treaties which regulate fundamentally important issues for the Soviet Union and provide a foundation for the future of our relations with one of Europe's major states—united Germany. These are the Treaty on a Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, the Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Partnership, and Cooperation between the USSR and the FRG, the Treaty Between the USSR and the FRG on the Development of Wide-Ranging Cooperation in the Sphere of the Economy, Industry, Science, and Technology, the Agreement Between the USSR and the FRG on Certain Transitional Measures, and the Treaty on the Terms for the Temporary Presence and Planned Withdrawal of Soviet Troops From FRG Territory.

USSR people's deputies—members of the International Affairs Committee as well as other USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber commissions—comprehensively analyzed the submitted documents with the participation of representatives of ministries and departments.

Deputies V.I. Alksnis, A.A. Ananyev, G.A. Arbatov, N.S. Petrushenko, S.Ye. Savitskaya, F.A. Tabeyev, V.M. Falin, and others shared their ideas and views on this subject in a heated debate.

Following a detailed examination of the aforesaid USSR instruments of international law, the deputies concluded that the documents signed are in line with the strengthening of the positive processes on the European continent and Soviet interests, will promote increased trust and mutual understanding between the USSR and the FRG, and open up prospects for cooperation.

A decision was made to instruct the USSR Supreme Soviet to ratify the package of Soviet-German treaties submitted by the government.

Political & Social

Pugo on Investigation of Riga Events

PM2201185591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with B. Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, by I. Andreyev; place and date and not given: "B. Pugo: Too Soon to Talk About Conclusions"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] B. Pugo, USSR minister of internal affairs, decided on 21 January to move the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON], with whose actions the tragic events of 20-21 January in Riga are being linked, to their permanent deployment location in the republic's capital. The "guarantors" of the OMON's security as well as of that subunit's noninterference in the city's life

will be USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops, who will create a barrier around the detachment's premises. This measure taken by the minister is in line with the wishes of the republic leadership and the OMON men themselves.

At IZVESTIYA's request Boris Pugo talked about the progress of the investigation into the tragic incident.

[Andreyev] Boris Karlovich, it is well known that immediately after the bloodshed in the republic's MVD building a commission flew to Riga comprising representatives of the MVD and the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Why was it only after that dramatic night rather than the previous week, when the actions of the OMON men under "union jurisdiction" were linked with numerous shooting incidents and cars being set on fire?

[Pugo] That's wrong: Representatives of the Main Administration for the Protection of Public Order as well as USSR MVD Internal Troops flew to Riga last week precisely to investigate these incidents on the ground. Yes, the cases you have mentioned did occur, and there have been cases of vehicles being set on fire. But just who did it? Opinions on that score are highly contradictory. We must investigate everything thoroughly, which is what the USSR MVD commission headed by my deputy, Yu. Kukushkin, is currently doing in Riga. Incidentally, he is the head of our ministry's Main Investigations Administration, and a meticulous, painstaking person who does not rush to come up with conclusions without having serious foundations for them. There have been a lot of very implausible rumors in Latvia, and there has been disinformation too. So making hasty statements about what has happened would be adding fuel to the fire.

[Andreyev] But have there been cases that can already be called indisputable? For instance, there was the abduction of the wife of one of the OMON men and the outrage committed against her.

[Pugo] I have no unambiguous answer to that question as yet.

[Andreyev] Let us suppose that, convinced that this was the case, the OMON men gathered outside the Latvian MVD without authorization. According to one version published in the central press, they stormed the building to... escape the firing they were coming under...

[Pugo] I do not think we need take that version seriously. More likely they launched their assault in a state of profound emotional excitment caused by a terrible report. Otherwise, how can the senselessness of the seizure of the republic MVD building, which would in no way affect that department's functioning, be explained?

However, we cannot accept the other version prevalent in the republic either: that the OMON planned the seizure of the MVD building ahead of time. Again I would ask—what for, what would be the point, the sense of it?

[Andreyev] Nonetheless, Boris Karlovich, you get the impression that this is a maverick OMON detachment acting at its own risk...

[Pugo] As far as the events of that night go, that was the impression, unfortunately. There was nothing to herald the tragedy. Two hours before it I spoke with Riga—there was nothing to presage the events.

As for the situation regarding the OMON in general, the drama is that there are two Prosecutor's Offices and two basic laws in the republic. This OMON detachment is keeping faith with the Constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. This was the conflict arising between the OMON detachment temporarily subordinate to the 43d division of the USSR MVD Internal Troops and the leadership of the republic's MVD. I would note that the members of the detachment are not "outsiders"—most of them are Riga-born and have their roots in Latvia.

[Andreyev] How is the investigation going? Are representatives of the Union and republic MVD's and prosecutor's offices cooperating?

[Pugo] Yes. According to reports from Riga and information from USSR Prosecutor General N. Trubin, both sides have decided to make all materials in the case available to each other. We are maintaining contacts with the republic's leaders.

Saudergras Says Gorbachev No Longer in Control

AU2301112191 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 18 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas by an unidentified SVOBODNE SLOVO reporter; place and date not given: "Gorbachev Is Fiction!"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas is currently residing in Warsaw. The government in Vilnius has entrusted him with forming a government in exile if the established government is unable to conduct its activity in the Lithuanian capital.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Mr. Minister, when will you begin to fulfill your function?

[Saudargas] I do not want to speak about specific issues associated with the future government in exile at the moment. However, I am prepared for all eventualities. Events in the Soviet Union can develop very quickly. Gorbachev is no longer in control of the situation.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] But the West—especially the Germans and the Americans—are thrilled with Gorbachev....

[Saudargas] I am telling you that Gorbachev no longer exists. They may be carried away by him, but the truth is that today Gorbachev is fiction!

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Did the recent events take place without Gorbachev's knowledge?

[Saudargas] Military matters are controlled by someone in Moscow, by some sort of military junta. Everything has been prepared right down to the smallest detail. Specialists, real professionals, work in the center. The process of renewing the former importance and position of the military-industrial complex has begun in the Soviet Union. A struggle for power is taking place.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Why did this begin in Lithuania in particular?

[Saudargas] Lithuania was the most radical as far as independence is concerned. However, the Moscow organizers have a global plan. First and foremost, they want to terrorize people into keeping quiet. The old and well-known Stalinist terrorism....

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Lithuania struggles in isolation....

[Saudargas] World War II—still not yet ended—is still in the air here.

[SVOBODNE SLOVO] Who is really in power in the Soviet Union?

[Saudargas] Certainly not Gorbachev. Or perhaps still Gorbachev. Is he a criminal or a man who is losing control of events? It seems—and I repeat again—that the Army will seize power in the country by force....

Shatalin Calls on Gorbachev To Resign

PM2201111591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 91 p 2

[Undated "open letter" to President Mikhail Gorbachev from academician S. Shatalin, "former member of the former USSR Presidential Council"; first two paragraphs are introduction: "You Must Not Fight Evil With Evil"]

[Text] A crisis of power, above all within the executive, is at hand. In today's conditions, when chaos and instability have swept over the country and our immediate future appears highly alarming, highly trenchant debates have developed around the figure of the USSR president as head of the executive.

In publishing Stanislav Shatalin's "open letter" to the USSR president, we are proceeding from the premise that the academician is a good friend of M.S. Gorbachev's, working in the same "team" as him. Despite being somewhat subjective, S. Shatalin does, in our view, sum up in a quite well-adduced way the results of this work and issues yet another warning...

Esteemed Mikhail Sergeyevich!

I do not like writing letters. But what is to be done; drastic changes have to be made—the stakes are too great: The people's future is at stake.

A great deal has been written about you, especially in recent times. Political observers and journalists eagerly "paint" your political portrait. But they are all subjective, although you are an objective reality, part of our perception.

I too am subjective. To be honest and comprehensible, I must say a few words about myself.

I am not a "renegade" brought up on anticommunism. I come from a super-Communist family and joined the CPSU in 1962 on attaining post-Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] age. My father worked for a long time as Party Control Committee plenipotentiary, then as secretary of Kalinin party obkom [oblast committee], while it was still the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

After the death of I.V. Stalin, my uncle held the post of CPSU Central Committee secretary in charge of its cadres. I sat on the knee of M.F. Shkiryatov and G.M. Malenkov and I knew V.M. Molotov, A.A. Andreyev, and N.M. Shvernik. I learned the word "plenum" before you, and at the age of nine, I saw a pistol under my father's pillow. During the years of "stagnation," several attempts were made to expel me from the party—the Communist Party, of course, since, as you probably recall, the multiparty system did not exist at that time. I am now a member of the CPSU Central Committee—I was not elected on your list—although I am an overt social democrat by conviction, which I told my people, the CPSU, and you personally, honestly and publicly. So, my origins are fine (unlike many people of the Baltics).

Now to business. The country is in a state of gravest crisis, demoralization, and insanity. Economic catastrophe is rapidly approaching and nothing practical has been done to avoid it. The government's forecast for 1991 is just an unrealizable dream. The 1991 budget is a work of fiction and will bring about a drastic price hike, particularly for food. The budgetary war ended with a budgetary "military peace." That is clear to any professional. The underlying reasons for all our problems are obvious to anyone who only wants to really think about them, and to anyone who has retained an iota of common sense. It is the totalitarian Communist ideology that has permeated every pore of our crippled, stupefied society, along with interethnic and class [mezhsoslovnyy] hatred. Moreover, bear in mind—and I have written a great deal about this and told you and all of us, that is to say the "leadership"—that the State Committee for Statistics—and everyone who is able—are deceiving us shamelessly.

We all greeted the 1985 April Revolution with joy and hope. Whether you like it or not, you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, objectively, merely as an intelligent, normal person, initiated this lifelike movement. At least you realized that we could not go on living like that, although you did not know what was necessary. No one does or can reproach you for this.

You manifested indecisiveness for a long time in domestic policy, although everything had become perfectly clear by the 27th CPSU Congress, or even by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. I think that in your heart of hearts you too realized that the path of "reform," half-measures, and gloss leads to inevitable deadlock. I well recall the atmosphere surrounding your report to the 27th party congress and the June plenum. The need for **radical** economic reform and, consequently, the replacement of the entire sociopolitical system was finally mentioned aloud. Yet you and your closest comrades-in-arms are Marxists. **Having said "A,"** we failed to do "B" and everyone drowned in a sea of invocations and began with increasingly irrepressible zeal to finish off our already dying economy. The crisis intensified and at the end of July 1990, once again escaping another heart attack in the hospital, I learned that you had concluded a political alliance with B.N. Yeltsin. Thank God, I thought, he has heeded our prayers. The USSR president has finally created the first recognizable team of 13 people to formulate the union concept for the transition to the market economy. With what joy, fascination, hope, and responsibility we worked during last August of blessed memory. Everyone was equal. My contemporaries Yevgeniy Yasin and Nikolay Petrakov, Grigory Yavlinskiy, who was young enough to be my son, and Andrey Mikhaylov, who could even have been my grandson. We resolved highly complex problems (now causing bloodshed) with representatives of all republics, with miners and emissaries from virtually all parties. We had to succeed by 1 September.

At the end of August, cutting short your vacation, you had a seven-hour meeting with us. Let me be frank and say that the country, for objectivity's sake, should know this, it should be aware of the indelible impression that this meeting made on my team. In my opinion, you yourself did not believe either that these "youths" (they were fewer of them by then) were able to perform the feat—as Academician A.G. Aganbegyan said—in 25 days: They produced the "500 days" plan and drafts of the highly important laws needed for its implementation. They produced this despite extreme sabotage, especially by Yu.D. Maslyukov, former chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Commission], former USSR Finance Minister V.S. Pavlov (he is now working as your prime minister), and other people who flagrantly violated all your decrees. Yet you offered no protest, punished no one, and even "elevated" some people (assault troops were not brought in to either the Gosplan or the Finance Ministry). I was proud of my team, I myself worked miracles I certainly could not now. Although let us wait and see. You then gradually began to "bar" the program, after publicly stating beforehand that you liked it far more than the government program. A.G. Aganbegyan was instructed to combine the "500 Days" and the government programs—incompatible programs. Thank you Abel Gezevich; he decisively sided with us and in three days—by the deletion method—we produced the "presidential" version of the program, which was 99.5-percent based on the "500 days." I said this at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, when it was distributed to its members. The situation deteriorated, but not hopelessly. While deputies were studying the program, I flew to the United States for two weeks where all leading economists voiced a high opinion of the professional standard of the "500 days."

The Supreme Soviet then approved the "Basic Guidelines for the tabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to the Market Economy." This was a catastrophe that could only have been averted if a competent interethnic coalition government with the people's support and trust had been set up. Regrettably, precisely the opposite happened.

You, Mikhail Sergeyevich, with your intellectual potential and your comrades-in-arms alongside, were free to take the right course. You were and are aware of this—although you are running badly short of time in the political, economic, interethnic, social, spiritual, and moral context. That is an axiom, and I have a better knowledge of this than your political biographers who have painted your portrait in independent newspapers. So, you only have to answer this "quite simple" question: Why do you not **want**—I stress this—to make the right move, you are **able** but you are not doing so? Why? I will consider two possibilities. First: You do not want your people's happiness. Second: You want your people's happiness, but you are afraid that you will lose your power in the struggle to attain this goal. Everything else is reduced to a combination of the former and the latter. Let us now evaluate the situation, I will venture to be impudent and claim that I can manage this task better than other people in the country.

Today, especially since the events in Lithuania, and now in Latvia too, you have on the whole come under justified fire from left-centrist forces. But they—I am also a left-centrist—sometimes also live in a world of temptations and fight evil with evil. I resolutely oppose such a path and completely reject the first possibility. I think that the majority of left-centrist movements share my standpoint. You are not an enemy of the people or a zealot on behalf of the interests of, to use a hackneyed phrase, the nomenklatura.

You are really worried by the second possibility—you are afraid of losing power. Is this cynicism? Far from it. Every politician, even a "disinterested" Communist, is afraid of losing power. One of the great politicians, I think, said that the world is ruled by love and money. Love certainly, money undoubtedly, but also power necessarily. Fear of losing power, rather than suicide, is a natural instinct of a normal politician.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, after sharply opposing your current policy I nevertheless maintained and still maintain now that you are much stronger relying upon the left-centrist bloc than you are in alliance with the right-wingers, whose main leaders are the leadership of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Central Committee and several figures in the

CPSU Communist Party Central Committtee Politburo. It is they who played the most reactionary role the night of 16-17 November, when the eight points of your program of presidential rule were conceived. But you have not even deemed it necessary to consult your faithful comrades-in-arms since perestroyka's inception—Presidential Council Members N.I. Ryzhkov, V.A. Medvedev, Ye.M. Primakov, A.N. Yakovlev, and others, including S.S. Shatalin, who joined them.

Your descent in the face of the "black colonels"—Alksnis, Petrushenko, and Makashov—simply staggers me. I would like to especially stress that, as an economist and mathematician, I think in terms of multidimensional space and I also include some of the intelligentsia, the working class, the peasants, the Army, the military-industrial complex, the KGB, and the Foreign Ministry... in the left-centrist bloc. A unique situation has now come about: The struggle to preserve your power coincides with the struggle for the good of the people and human dignity. You run no risk, I repeat, no risk, but do overcome your kind of mystically suspicious attitude toward democrats.

It also has to be borne in mind that we will never create an effective market economy or solve current or strategic problems of our economic development without large-scale cooperation with the West (including, of course, Japan, South Korea, and other "dragons"). In the West (I hope you are aware of this), euphoria over perestroyka has long past. Your current policy is making the West increasingly restrained. There should be no illusions here. Certain companies have personally refused humanitarian aid in the form of medicine and infants' food worth $40 million since the events in Lithuania. Ask the physicians and economists what this means.

What, then, needs to be done immediately?

1. Return to the tough version of the "500 days" plan, augmenting, it with many of the sensible comments recently made.

2. Spurn the politically futile temptation of signing the Union Treaty, since this is unattainable and merely inflames interethnic relations, catastrophically intensifies centrifugal and separatist tendencies, and speeds up the Union's disintegration.

3. Create an Economic Union of politically absolutely sovereign republics based on the principles of the "500 days" plan. Love at first glance, all-consuming love is a fine and divine thing for man and woman, but prudent love [lyubov po raschetu] is best in politics.

4. You should immediately give up the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the CPSU will, for the people's good, break up and cease to claim the monopoly vanguard role and will remain as an ordinary parliamentary party.

5. Immediately create an interethnic, interparty, interclass [mezhsoslovnyy] government that enjoys the confidence of the people and comprises intelligent, competent, honest people who are well known in the country. Perhaps in the legitimate form of the Federation Council...

If, Mikhail Sergeyevich, you fail to understand all this, it is your duty to the people to immediately resign—along, of course, with all your entourage. A politician should not stay on beyond the point when people pity him.
Academician S. Shatalin, former member of the former USSR Presidential Council

Shakhnazarov on Baltics and Gorbachev

AU2201144791 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Jan 91 pp 131-134

[Interview with "Gorbachev adviser" Georgiy Shakhnazarov by Joerg R. Mettke in Moscow; date not given: "Gorbachev Would Fall"]

[Text] [Mettke] Georgiy Khosroyevich, after the bloody military intervention in Lithuania the president recommended the West take a "constructive position." What should such a position look like?

[Shakhnazarov] First of all, one must know the real circumstances. Those who only go by the most recent events will certainly draw the wrong conclusions. In my opinion it was wrong to provide this salvation committee with military for the attack against the television building right away. There is no justification for the victims of this attack.

[Mettke] Well, who gave the order?

[Shakhnazarov] We still have to find out. The president certainly knew nothing of it.

[Mettke] Nevertheless, on the whole he justified the intervention.

[Shakhnazarov] There are two reasons for it. As early as on 11 March of last year, the Lithuanian Parliament, headed by Landsbergis, decided to abolish the USSR Constitution for Lithuania, and it even stated that Lithuania never was a legal part of the USSR.

[Mettke] The Lithuanians referred to the pact between Hitler and Stalin of 1939, violating international law, and paving the way for the annexation of the Baltics by the USSR.

[Shakhnazarov] Let us assume the Lithuanians are right. In this case, please let me give you the following example: A man forces a woman to live with him. After half a century they have a home, children, common relatives, and contacts with their neighbors.... This entails certain obligations that can be solved only on a legal basis.

[Mettke] Still, since the French Revolution, at the latest, each people has a right to self-determination.

[Shakhnazarov] True, and nobody has denied this to the Baltic nations. They are told that if they want to leave the USSR they should hold a referendum. Then everything else can be settled—such as questions of ownership, security, and not least, problems of those members of minorities, who after all, are to blame for the mistakes of the past.

[Mettke] Well, Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians argue that they never voluntarily acceded to the USSR and that, therefore, there is no need to hold a special referendum, because with a great majority and in a democratic way they voted such forces into Parliament whose explicit objective is the restoration of independence.

[Shakhnazarov] Questions relating to the Constitution, fateful questions for a nation, should not be decided by the individual parliaments but in popular referendums. Moreover, the USSR Constitution is also applicable in the Baltics. I do not understand why people there are scared of a referendum. One might even invite UN observers to monitor such a referendum.

[Mettke] Apart from all legal aspects, do you think it was politically correct to take such hard action in Lithuania?

[Shakhnazarov] The decision for the military action did not come from the center. As a result of the short-sighted policy of the Lithuanian leadership, the population there has meanwhile been split into two groups. There is the danger of a civil war....

[Mettke] ... but only now, after the military intervention.

[Shakhnazarov] No, already since 7 January, when major price increased were decreed. Even before there were severe cases of human rights violations in the Baltics. A Latvian friend of mine, a member of the Academy who is rector of Riga University, was chased from the Academy along with 130 other members of the Communist Party. So what is that, pure coincidence?

[Mettke] In civilized countries such cases are dealt with by labor and administrative courts but not by paratroopers.

[Shakhnazarov] You are right. I do not want to justify the military intervention. I am only pointing out measures that are intended to turn hundreds of thousands of Russian-speaking people to second-class citizens. For example, if you are an officer in the Baltic Fleet and your children are banned from school, if you do not get your food allotment ....

[Mettke] ... then you start preparing for a counterrevolution?

[Shakhnazarov] What is certain is that the people there no longer want to put up with it. Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly stressed the unconstitutional character of Lithuanian resolutions, but everything was ignored. He even went to Lithuania to talk to the people, but the leaders in Vilnius showed no understanding. Imagine what would happen if a German land all of a sudden no longer wanted to act in line with the Constitution.

[Mettke] But they all want to. As a matter of fact, five more laender from your former camp voluntarily joined us. Whereas in the case of Lithuania Moscow's steps caused negative reactions everywhere: Many fear the end of democratization in the USSR and a relapse to Stalinism.

[Shakhnazarov] Those who say such things know nothing of the realities in the USSR. From the very beginning, Gorbachev's policy pursued two major objectives: Democratization and integration in the international community. If now this very man were to tolerate the disintegration of the USSR, which is what our separatists and new democrats are virtually pressing for, then this would be the end of perestroyka and of international detente.

[Mettke] What would happen ?

[Shakhnazarov] Then Gorbachev would fall, Yet, you can be sure that subsequently these democrats would not come to power. The forces that will not tolerate a collapse are simply stronger. Then we would get military dictatorship—without parliaments, without democratic guarantees, and without the right for the media to criticize the president. The effects of a brusque, uncontrolled disintegration of the USSR would be disastrous, almost like a nuclear explosion. Just think of our strategic arms: In whose hands would they fall? Before making hasty condemnations, the West had rather think twice now.

[Mettke] Will the USSR, with the consent of Moscow, at least be permitted to dissolve itself gradually and in a controlled process, if its member states should so wish?

[Shakhnazarov] It is my firm conviction that the Baltic states will be permitted to leave the USSR on the basis of the Constitution without major problems. The Caucasian republics, just like the Asian ones, will probably prefer to stay in a closer relationship with Russia. If we manage to give everybody a feeling of freedom and if, at the same time, we manage to improve our economic situation, then Russia's attraction as a powerful, promising region will become so strong that the others will move closer again and not widen their distance.

[Mettke] Today, how great is the danger of a development that gets out of control in those republics that are determined to secede?

[Shakhnazarov] Very great. The West still has the idea that everything is done there on the orders of the Kremlin. This is a big mistake. When, for example, the Georgian Parliament ended South Ossetian Autonomy,

people immediately said that Moscow was involved in this. As if Moscow would need any more problems down there.

[Mettke] Is it now to be expected that as a next step the Baltics will be put under direct control of the president?

[Shakhnazarov] This will widely depend on the behavior of the governments there. If they manage to reconcile the rivaling parties there that are furious with one another then everything will be O.K.

[Mettke] In what way would the direct control of the central power over the unruly republics be exercised: through the military, through special militia units and ethnic-political minorities?

[Shakhnazarov] This is a very difficult question. Actually, we do not yet have a plan for this.

[Mettke] You have created an emergency instrument without knowing how to use it?

[Shakhnazarov] To tell you the truth, we have not yet managed to exactly work this out. Yet, if the time comes, then the president will create a model on the basis of a number of decrees. The intention behind this is not to side with one party but to prevent a civil-war-like development. Even in the Baltics the president does not want to prevent sovereignty from being further strengthened.

[Mettke] The Balts see this differently. Do you want to guarantee or can you guarantee that military attacks like those in Lithuania will not happen again?

[Shakhnazarov] Nobody can do that today. Gorbachev quite rightly said that things can explode any moment. There is only one thing that I know for sure: Gorbachev will never side with those who tolerate victims, dead or injured people. It is stupid and absurd to believe that this man will risk his life's work and his international prestige for it.

[Mettke] There is increasing skepticism, both abroad and in the USSR, whether Gorbachev is still in control of the situation or whether he has to execute the orders of other forces.

[Shakhnazarov] No leader can have absolute freedom. Not even Genghis Khan had it. There can be no doubt that Gorbachev is under enormous pressure both from the right and the left. There is an increasing desire for a new order among our people. This increases the influence of those who can create this order. If our esteemed democrats call for strikes and unrest they must know to whose advantage this may be.

[Mettke] That is to say the critical forces of that center-right coalition, on whom Gorbachev can currently rely.

[Shakhnazarov] I would rather not use such terms. Left, right—today these terms are ambiguous or even controversial. What is true is that we want to strengthen the executive, currently showing considerable deficiencies. However, this does not mean abandoning perestroyka. There is no case in history where a reformer turned into the suppressor of his own reform.

[Mettke] Would you not consider Napoleon Bonaparte to be a figure who proved this wrong?

[Shakhnazarov] Bonaparte was a general who devoted himself to the revolution, but he was not a revolutionary. It would be preposterous to believe that Gorbachev might betray himself.

[Mettke] Boris Yeltsin has called on officers and soldiers who are deployed in the Baltics to disobey orders useing arms against civilians unless they want to become "tools of shady reactionary forces." Under the strict interpretation of confidence to the union, applied in Lithuania, would Gorbachev not have to arrest Yeltsin as an agitator?

[Shakhnazarov] This would be incompatible with Gorbachev's political style as well as with his character. He does not want to exert physical pressure against his political opponents and he has always resolutely rejected such methods. Nevertheless, from a political-legal point of view, Yeltsin's action undoubtedly constitutes appealing to insubordination.

[Mettke] Will it remain unpunished?

[Shakhnazarov] Do not forget that even on this side there are many clever, honest people who want to contribute to the success of perestroyka. I have many friends there and I would also like to see Gorbachev meet them more often. Not long ago we had plans to create a center-left coalition. Unfortunately, extremists recently managed to get an increasing influence on Yeltsin.

[Mettke] Yet, are extremists not the yeast for historic developments—particularly in a country just now overcoming many years of stagnation?

[Shakhnazarov] I do not like extremists and fanatics. Politics is the art of balance. It is much more difficult to remain in the center. The tradition of revolutionaries, which has always existed in Russia, has played a negative role. In this respect I fully agree with Solzhenitsyn.

[Mettke] Yet, is it not a revolutionary attitude of the most stupid kind and does it not destroy all campaigns for putting trust into "new thinking" in the USSR, when, in the end, obscure salvation committees try to topple democratically elected governments with the help of the military?

[Shakhnazarov] We are aware of the negative reactions, and we do not like it. However, public opinion must be careful with its judgments. We must be able to conclude our process of reshaping in peace. An unstable USSR, in addition to all other crises, would be the worst for our world.

[Mettke] Was the time to draw the reins in Lithuania, namely in the slipstream of the Gulf crisis, picked deliberately?

[Shakhnazarov] This has nothing to do with drawing reins but this is a dramatic flare-up of violence. The reasons for it are violations of human rights by one part of the population of Lithuania. The appeal of the Baltic presidents and Yeltsin to the United Nations contains the speculation of a connection between the events in Lithuania and those in the Middle East. There is no such connection. This is intended to bring new Varangians [Scandinavians who founded a dynasty in Russia in the ninth century] to the country. Many people here regard this as treason.

[Mettke] Nevertheless, according to all opinion polls traitor Yeltsin is more popular than Gorbachev.

[Shakhnazarov] Public opinion is very fickle, and it depends in particular on our miserable economic situation. Of course, here the blame is put on the government of the union and thus on Gorbachev himself.

[Mettke] Do Gorbachev's possiblities shape politics, does the USSR, both in terms of domestic and foreign policy, remain predictable?

[Shakhnazarov] I have always avoided such predictions; yet, in my opinion, Gorbachev's position is currently stable. Yet what will come next? We no longer live in a time when everything depends on the Kremlin. The people have started to move, there are more and more conflicts among politically polarizing forces—and between all this there is the Army. As far as your question is concerned a lot will depend on how the Russian people want to live in the future: within the borders of the Russian Federation or within a union.

[Mettke] Will the USSR still exist in the year 2000?

[Shakhnazarov] I do not know what it will look like, but it will certainly exist. I hope it will be a union that guarantees human rights, the people's right to self-determination, freedom, solidarity, and social justice. In this respect our ideas of democratic socialism have come very close to those of the social democrats.

[Shakhnazarov] Georgiy Khosroyevich, thank you very much for this interview.

Results of CPSU CC Secretariat Meeting Reported

PM2201150791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[CPSU Central Committee Press Center report: "Reality's Amendments. From CPSU Central Committee Secretariat Session"]

[Text] Reality amended the agenda of the latest CPSU Central Committee Secretariat session. The dramatic events in the Baltic republics, the reaction to them inside and outside the country, the CPSU Central Committee's position, the need to convey it to primary organizations and to the Soviet public in an undistorted form—all this was discussed. Attempts by certain political forces and their leaders to take advantage of the tragedy in Vilnius and unleash persecution of Communists and provoke working people into declaring political strikes was assessed.

After describing the situation in the Kuzbass, the speakers spoke of the need for CPSU Central Committee departments and local party committees to maintain constant ties with coal regions and to carry out lively work directly in labor collectives. The ruinous nature for the country and for all working people, including miners, of the economy's further destruction must be clear to everyone. It was emphasized at the session that the mass media, from which people expect honest information and a sensible, politically balanced approach, also bear a special responsibility.

Planning questions were also examined. The session participants listened to a report on the first of them—"On the Budget of the Union Republic Communist Parties for 1991"—by N.Ye. Kruchina, administrator of the CPSU Central Committee. Both in the report and in the subsequent exchange of opinions attention was drawn to the great complexities in forming the budget. Despite tough measures to reduce expenditure, for the first time for many years it is substantially in excess of income. Part of the CPSU's reserve fund will be used to cover the deficit. Thus, 100 million rubles is being allocated just to financing primary organizations.

O.S. Shenin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, pointed out that there are grounds for conducting such a discussion in the republics too, for all the republic organizations have been subsidized this year. Secretariat Member V.A. Gayvoronskiy proposed devoting more attention to discipline in paying membership dues and sending a corresponding letter to party organizations. In his opinion, not all Communists now know on what specifically the two percent of their earnings they hand over to the party purse is spent. And this ignorance is aggravated by instances of overt squandering of membership dues locally.

A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized a flexible attitude must be taken toward the expenditure part of the party budget, without imposing a common stereotype. For more than 20 oblast party committees in the country are working under extreme conditions. And this must affect differentiated funding. The idea that the party budget is not so much an economic as a political question prevailed in the speeches by CPSU Central Committee Secretaries V.A. Kuptsov and V.M. Falin.

The Secretariat examined and approved a proposal to organize a permanently functioning seminar for the party aktiv and people's deputies who are Communists,

to study foreign experience of parliamentary activity on the basis of the CPSU Central Committee Social Sciences Institute.

Then there was discussion on a note from the writer V.M. Sanga, president of the Association of Small Peoples of the North, expressing alarm at the active destructive processes against the foundations of the traditional economic management and the original way of life of the indigenous peoples of the North and Siberia. Summing up the discussion, O.S. Shenin supported proposals to give the maximum assistance to the country's Supreme Soviet in adopting specific decisions on the topical question under discussion. Communists who are deputies, he said, must advance a corresponding legislative initiative.

The Secretariat also examined cadre questions. I.T. Gutsu was elected second secretary of the Moldovan Communist Party Central Committee, and A.G. Sarkisyan second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. First secretaries of oblast party committees were approved: A.I. Kostyurin in Tula, and F.A. Novikov in Kazakhstan's recently formed Mangistau Oblast.

Opinion Poll on 'Firm Order' Analyzed

PM2201143191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Article by S. Shpilko under the "Public Opinion; Poll and Sociologist's Commentary" rubric: "Order, Not Regime"]

[Text] Firm order and firm hand are words that perturb and inspire fear in some people and hope in others. Just a year or two ago these words were mainly used by fervent populists. Today the press abounds with them, they can be heard from parliamentary platforms, at rallies, and in lines. But, take note, they sound different.

These words nearly always sound like a threat in speeches by conservatives and radicals. "Look here, we will establish firm order for you"—some flash their "muscles of steel." "Not a step back! That means terror and dictatorship"—others call people to the barricades. As is the custom, both sides appeal to the masses, using the same expressions, moreover—"the people will not forgive, they will not understand, ordinary people are demanding." What do ordinary people themselves think about this? Do they want firm order or not?

Figures from the latest public opinion poll conducted by the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions polled 3,400 residents of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, Belorussia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Estonia making it possible to shed some light on this. In response to the direct question "Do you agree that firm order should be introduced in the country?", 69 percent of those polled responded in the affirmative and 14 percent in the negative, while the rest had difficulty in giving a definite answer.

You would have thought that that could be the end of it. But there is one small "but" in the way. It is still not understood what, accordingly, people mean by firm order. Do they not give this expression a different meaning from, say, many journalists and politicians? To resolve these doubts, those polled were told to explain in their own words what they themselves understood by the restoration of firm order in the country. Some 2,552 people replied. It turned out that the notions of the majority are extremely far-removed from the current political stock phrase.

For example, only one in 20 answers drew a parallel between firm order and the name of Stalin and Stalin's time that is so popular with the press. The authors are mainly those with first-hand experience of the Stalinist period. This move was favored by half the number of those opposing a return to the old system.

Just six percent of respondents, mainly representatives of the intelligentsia, associate firm order with dictatorship, repressions, a military regime, and restrictions of civil rights and freedoms. Only a handful of people among those polled supported this kind of "order" although one must of course take into consideration the fact that not everyone in this case is inclined to call a spade a spade.

The poll showed that firm order is not associated with a firm hand in the minds of the majority of the population, whereas in the context of speeches from rostrums and articles in the press these expressions are often seen as synonymous. Extremely few responses drew that parallel.

Who then are the overwhelming majority who voted in favor of restoring firm order? On the whole they are people who see firm order as elementary order within the state in the universally accepted meaning of this word. More than 2,000 of those who explained what they personally see used this term. Their responses most frequently talk about obeying the laws, tightening up the laws themselves and the penalties incurred for violating them, improving legislation, equality before the law for everyone, including the top men, and so on.

The fight against crime ranks second. Two lines can be traced here, as it were. On the one hand, many responses literally cry out for the need to ensure citizens' personal safety. And it is not only a question of crimes against the individual like theft, homicide, and rape, moreover. The responses—although not so frequently—call for tougher suppression of interethnic conflicts and mass disturbances, and defense of people against possible pogroms. On the other hand, equal passions are aroused by the problem of combating economic crimes—corruption, speculation, sabotage, and abuses in trade.

Further, the subject of restoring order in production, enhancing labor discipline, and observing contract commitments, along with the problem of combating inflation and shortages and ensuring social protection for citizens, including the poorest strata of the population, figures in the answers.

A small but statistically significant proportion of respondents (roughly three percent) associate firm order primarily with the overcoming of political struggle within the leadership and with the consolidation of the body of deputies. Roughly the same number of people see the restoration of firm order as a more vigorous and consistent movement toward the market and the development of private ownership and peasant farms.

So when an intelligent-looking woman argues about firm order with an elderly worker in a meat line until she gets hoarse, the former is not fighting for democracy at the cost of starvation and the latter is by no means defending 1937, they are fighting for all commodities to appear in the stores. Their aspirations are not that different. Both effectively mean the kind of order that exists in any normal state where there is food to eat, somewhere to live, and where you can walk the streets and say what you think without fear. But neither knows how to achieve this. Hence, correspondingly, the strife. Admittedly, most people incline toward administrative methods—instructions, demands, suppression, and punishment. But it cannot be otherwise when most of us have not seen other methods operating in our lifetime. In this respect the yearning for firm order expresses not so much disappointment with the ideas of democracy as weariness and fear of the future and a crisis of confidence in an authority incapable of coping with the increasing difficulties and putting forward a program of comprehensible, inspiring actions. Moreover, only a program that does not strike at achievements in the development of glasnost, international relations, disarmament, and movement toward the market will now win the support of public opinion.

Should the destruction and chaos in the country reach the point initiating panic, the pendulum of social support may quite easily swing to the right, toward power for the man with the gun. It will not be a case of mass delusion that it will be easier to live in the shadow of a gun, that we will feed the country and build Communism. In the minds of a vast section of the population, freedom of choice in this situation is simply reduced to the following dilemma: a regime or the nation's self-annihilation. Moreover, the conscious fueling of panic in society and the constant deliberate identification of firm order with dictatorship and a military regime can in many respects help to shape these notions. An increasing number of people can be prompted to think that a firm hand is the only way to firm order, constantly confusing these concepts.

Consequently, today it is more important than ever before not to bad-mouth firm order but to show that the antidemocratic path will not lead to this order—as the majority of the population perceive it. One should not spread illusions that the deviation can be temporary and the regime comparatively liberal. That kind of regime cannot hang onto power for long.

Yanayev Speaks at All-Union Peace Conference

LD2301092891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—An all-union conference opening in Moscow today will define the role and place of the Soviet public's peace movement in the new environment. Envoys of republican, kray, and oblast peace committees will hear the report of their central organization, the Soviet committee, on the last five years' activity, and will discuss and ratify its new charter and program.

At the opening of the conference, Gennadiy Yanayev, deputy president of the USSR, spoke. He conveyed to its participants greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev. The speaker highly appraised the activity of the Soviet peace movement and stressed that it occupies the role of active participant in the processes of perestroyka. Now is the time, the vice-president noted, that the potential of the peace forces will be required in full by Soviet society.

Writers Union Leader Karpov Resigns

LD1801174591 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Although the situation in this country's literary circles is rather complicated, the ninth Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union will take place as scheduled on 20 through 25 May. An enlarged session of the Secretariat of the Union's Board discussed preparations for the congress on Friday [18 January]. Novelist Vladimir Karpov tendered his resignation as the union's leader. The resignation was accepted. The session of the Secretariat decided to convene an international conference to discuss the role of modern literature in the context of a social crisis. The Secretariat voiced support for the statement by the USSR Journalists' Union in support of the rights of the press and against pressure on the mass media.

Weather Center Strike Hinders Forecasts

PM2201141391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by F. Ivanov: "How Artur Chilingarov 'Makes an Impact'"]

[Text] Instead of its usual back-page weather forecast, IZVESTIYA 16 January prepared an article about a political strike by USSR Hydrometeorological Center staffers declared for that day. IZVESTIYA's correspondent was told that a conference held by the Hydrometeorological Center labor collective decided 16 January not to release weather forecasts to the mass media and directive organs, including the government and the

CPSU Central Committee. An exception was made for economic enterprises that cannot manage without up-to-the-minute meteorological reports.

Just a short while before the newspaper was signed to press, the editorial office received a telephone call from Artur Chilingarov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, saying that rumors about the strike at the USSR Hydrometeorological Center had been grossly exaggerated and only a few people were not working, and hence he did not advise great importance being attached to this...

The editorial office had no reason to mistrust the deputy chairman of the state committee, and the article was therefore removed from the issue. However, when IZVESTIYA's correspondent arrived at the USSR Hydrometeorological Center on the evening of the same day, it turned out that Artur Chilingarov had misled the editorial office. The Hydrometeorological Center collective was on strike and, although some staffers did not support the labor collective council's appeal, forecasts had not been released to the mass media. The "Vremya" program did not carry its usual report from the USSR Hydrometeorological Center either...

...Alas, this is not the first time that we have seen (remember Chernobyl!) that you have to trust official data from this organization by checking out the facts yourself. Further. If it is sleeting and a piercing wind is blowing, that's weather. Not everyone likes it. Nor does political weather always suit everyone. But that does not mean that it does not exist at all.

INTERFAX Head Komissarov's Ethics Scored

PM2201163791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 91 Second Edition p 5

[Report by S. Karkhanin: "Income Kept Separate... Notes from USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting Collegium Session"]

[Text] A child that has grown strong denies its responsibilities to its parents for the sake of its own benefit and tries to buy them off with a cheap gift.... A familiar theme in family life. But it seems that similar cases can also often be seen in business life.

That is why the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting collegium decided to discuss its relations with INTERFAX: They have developed along the lines described above. It was once again convinced that commerce and moral principles make an uneasy bedfellows if they are not bonded together by reliable, tested legal norms.

The story behind the conflict is briefly as follows. The Main Editorial Staff of Radio Broadcasting to Foreign Countries had long complained that some news never actually went out on air and was simply wasted. So, in September two years ago the editorial office decided—in collaboration with the joint enterprise Interkvadro—to publish the news bulletin INTERFAX and put Deputy Chief Editor M. Komissar in charge. Since then, the INTERFAX imprint has gained quite wide popularity and its correspondents' reports are readily used by foreign embassies and correspondents' centers in Moscow, as well as by Soviet newspapers.

Naturally, the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting took great care of the "new arrival," providing it with offices, communications channels, and information sources. But time passed and more and more questions arose. One of them, the simplest of all, was this: If their agreement stipulated that all income must be shared equally, why had the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting not seen a single kopek of the 82,000 foreign currency rubles and 70,000 Soviet rubles on INTERFAX' books?

A commission was set up to investigate. Amazing things began to come to light. First, Interkvadro, which handled the news agency's financial operations, had refused to show audit officers the financial documents. Second, the commission learned from some papers it happened to light upon that INTERFAX had been leading a totally independent existence for several months—as a private agency, in fact—and that M. Komissar had registered it as such with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of the Press.

The agency did not now have very much left to accomplish to sever relations with its "parents" completely: move into the building on Gorkiy Street that had already been allocated for it and give the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting a few computers it had bought—that for some reason have yet to appear on the balance sheet—as a "compensatory gift." INTERFAX does not believe it has any other responsibilities and, as M. Komissar made it perfectly clear when addressing the collegium session, it has absolutely no intention of remaining under the state committee's aegis.

The commission established that M. Komissar did not have the right to hold leading appointments in both the radio broadcasting editorial staff and the news agency and ascertained that the agency could only register with TASS and not with the ministry.

Ethics sometimes take a back seat in business relations and it is obvious that there would be absolutely no point appealing to the conscience of INTERFAX's leaders. But there is an agreement that is supposed to protect the interests of the founder, who did, after all, make the original outlays! Yet when the collegium session began discussing the legalities of the situation, it was told: "The document is worded so that INTERFAX can now leave without paying any compensation at all, and officially everything will be above board." That is the price to be paid for the incompetence or carelessness shown by the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting when it took part in drawing up the document,

that, as we can now see, contained a time bomb. INTERFAX detonated it when the right moment came.

Against the background of the discussion on economic and legal problems, another remark made by one of the participants went almost unheeded: INTERFAX is confident that it will hold its ground in the oversaturated information market. Is this not because the main object of interest in the agency's material is "juicy" news that excites the public consciousness and because foreign newspapers are particularly eager to publish this news, quoting INTERFAX as their Soviet source? The collegium decided not to develop this point, which concerns the subject matter of reports, although it does perhaps merit attention. Especially as the Law on the Press allows anyone over 18 years of age to found a news agency and publish newspapers. It would not hurt to remind you, for example, that any newly-fledged newspaper publisher must have a minimum of 80,000 rubles in primary capital at his disposal to cover costs. Who has that kind of money and what kind of facts will he circulate?

The whole chain of events connected with INTERFAX, now clearly visible, makes one doubt that they are pure coincidence.

L. Kravchenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, is convinced that everything must be checked down to the last detail. The time has come to sever all relations with INTERFAX, including leasehold relations, and study the property issue. Act decisively, in short. This decisiveness is evidently not to everyone's taste. It was recently reported that a group of RSFSR people's deputies and Leningrad Soviet people's deputies sent a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Glasnost, demanding the resignation of the new USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting leadership. INTERFAX will certainly find a lot of protectors. However, it only has the right to count on being shown the kind of attitude that it shows to others.

KGB Discusses Sverdlovsk Officers' Complaints

LD1901200591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1129 GMT 19 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Jan (TASS)—We are transmitting a report from the USSR KGB's center for public contacts:

"In January there was a conference of the leadership of the USSR State Security Committee devoted to giving a comprehensive analysis of the circumstances and reasons preceding the appearance in the press (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA of 29 November) of a letter from 64 officers of the directorate of the USSR KGB for Sverdlovsk Oblast. A number of the operational officers who had signed this letter were invited to the conference.

The message addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic indicates that the officers of the directorate of the USSR KGB for Sverdlovsk Oblast, just like the overwhelming majority of the country's Chekists, are displaying an interest in the successful implementation of perestroyka, concern for its fate, and concern about the increase in social tension and extremism. It also contains conclusions that deserve to be supported; the urgent need for immediate measures to ensure stability in society; raising the authority and capability of the law enforcement bodies; the importance of adopting as quickly as possible a law on the bodies of state security of the USSR and other legal acts providing the legal basis for their work.

At the same time, it was noted at the meeting that it is difficult to agree with many of the positions of the letter's authors. The unfounded assertion by the authors of the letter about the potential danger of the KGB bodies for the democratic transformations being carried out in the country aroused well-argued criticism. It was stressed that the KGB bodies would never be on a different side of the barricades from their people and they did not see any alternative to the deep transformations in society whose time has now come. Sverdlovsk Oblast, just like the overwhelming majority of the country's Chekists, are displaying an interest in the successful implementation of perestroyka, concern for its fate, concern about the increase in social tension and extremism.

Confusion is apparent in the reflections of the letter's authors on depoliticization and departmentization of the KGB, and on the conformity of orders and directives of the USSR Committee for State Security with the legislation enforced. Conclusions that the KGB's activities are still subordinated to the interests of the party apparatus and are outside the USSR Supreme Soviet's control are groundless.

Analyzing the causes and conditions giving rise to the appeal, participants in the conference said that in the collective of the Directorate of the USSR Committee for State Security in Sverdlovsk Oblast, the atmosphere is not conducive to openness or constructive dialogue. The style of work among the leaders of the directorate is dominated by methods not promoting trust in relations with the operational staff. The staff are poorly informed about the progress of perestroyka in the system of the USSR's Committee for State Security. Discipline has become poorer. It is possible for all this to happen because the USSR Committee for State Security has failed to carry out good supervision of the directorate's work.

During the discussion decisive measures were outlined to root out the stagnant phenomena in the activities of the Sverdlovsk Oblast KGB Directorate, to renew and modernize its work. Confidence was expressed that the Sverdlovsk KGB Directorate will exercise a high sense of responsibility when it carries out a sober, and fundamental analysis of the collective, that it will do everything necessary to consolidate its ranks which are facing the tasks of insuring the security of our homeland, and that it will honorably fulfill its duty to the Soviet people.

The USSR Committee for State Security will always be objective and and comprehenisve in considering proposals that are coming in for the deepening of perestroyka in its operational activity. It will never try to evade complex issues and will always work toward insuring appropriate glasnost and a collegial study of urgent problems facing the KGB staff, relentlessly demanding the same from its subunits, bodies, and troops.

KGB Monitoring Foreign Food Distribution

91UF0356A Moscow TRUD in Russian 17 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed TASS report: "Absolutely Shameless"]

[Text] **KGB operations headquarters is receiving information on poorly organized distribution of humanitarian aid in some areas.**

Since 26 December of last year, 7.7 tons of food have been sitting in the Sheremetyevo airport. The food was supposed to go to the Minsk branch of the V.I. Lenin Children's Fund. Cases of stealing the donated goods have been uncovered, resulting in the start of criminal proceedings in Leningrad, Pskov, Zhitomir, and other cities in the country. Large batches of food and manufactured goods that arrived in the country as humanitarian aid appeared in second-hand stores and in the "black markets" of Yerevan and Vladimir.

As has happened before, it is known of foods being thrown in the garbage or allowed to rot, under the conditions of acute shortages. In Voronezh Oblast 1707 kilos of frozen meat and 50 whole lambs were found buried in the ground at the Nizhnedevitskiy meat processing factory. Thirty tons of rotten vegetables were found at the transshipment facility of the Krasnooknyanskaya Rayon procurement office in Odessa Oblast and 110 tons of the same at the Kzyl-Sayskaya vegetable storage facility.

Currently over 240 criminal proceedings have been started based on the facts of embezzlement and malfeasance with respect to socialist property uncovered by the KGB.

Moscow KGB Official Views Economic Crime

91UF0311A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General Vitaliy Prilukov, RSFSR people's deputy, chief of the USSR KGB Administration for Moscow and Moscow Oblast, by M. Makhlin; place and date not given: "Behind the Scenes of Economic Sabotage"]

[Text] [Makhlin] Vitaliy Mikhaylovich, what measures have been taken by the Moscow Chekists to carry out the recent instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and president to reveal cases of economic sabotage? How significant are the results?

[Prilukov] The new duties did not catch us unawares. Last year, as you know, state security organs were enlisted in the fight against organized crime. As a result of regrouping forces we formed from the most experienced workers a subdivision specializing in this area. Thus we had a certain reserve, as they say. The staffs that have been created in our administration and in the city and rayon state security departments for fighting economic sabotage and monitoring the movement of imported cargoes have been given the possibility of acting with fair precision since we have accumulated rapidly augmented operational information.

At the beginning of December we uncovered the criminal activity by a group of individuals who, under the cover of cooperatives for dispatching cargo for the population, are engaged in speculation on an especially large scale. We know how difficult it is for a Muscovite to buy furniture, especially imported furniture. To do this it is necessary to get on a waiting list through the rayon ispolkom [executive committee] or the place of employment after submitting a passport with a Moscow or Moscow area pass, to constantly keep track of one's movement up the list, and to wait months or even years. But it turns out that this fairly complicated procedure has not stopped valuable commodities from moving "under the counter."

In several stores of the Moscow State Organization for Furniture Sales for a hefty payment sets of imported furniture costing from 3,000 to 10,000 rubles [R] were documented as being sent to phony addresses of Muscovites or residents of the Moscow area. Then the furniture was sent to the Pavelets, Kursk, and Riga Railroad Stations where the officially created cooperatives who were supposed to help people fill out the documents, pack, and dispatch the cargo were actually selling the furniture for three to five times its face value. They were especially successful at this at the Pavelets Station. From here they shipped, according to preliminary calculations, about 10,000 sets of furniture, mainly to the southern regions.

During the forties there was a saying: "To some people it is war and to others it is their cup of tea." So it is here. Even our workers who have been around quite a bit were impressed by the furniture in the apartment of the director (whose name, for obvious reasons, we will not give yet) of one of the furniture stores reminded one somewhat of an antique museum and somewhat of a consumer goods exhibition. The two-story dacha had 15 rooms and a two-story "service building" attached to the garage, a sauna and a swimming pool completed the picture. In the glove compartment of the car R40,000 were lying around. All this was "created" from the deprivations experienced by Muscovites, who cannot set up even a half-way decent home on their savings from work.

We hope that the investigation will unravel this whole knot and that the court will give each one what he deserves. As for us, it was necessary to close off one of

the channels for the leakage of goods that are in short supply out of the city. Let me add that during the course of the operation we confiscated more than 200 containers of furniture.

At the beginning of December we set up 24-hour operational surveillance of the large bases and warehouses for food and industrial goods, refrigeration facilities, and also about 100 Moscow stores. At the same time, in cooperation with the GUVD [State Administration of Internal Affairs] we did spot checks of trucks as they left the city. And now these operations will be conducted regularly, purposefully, and, as a rule, suddenly.

Without going into details, I will give a couple of typical examples. In store No. 19 of the Oktyabrskiy RTO [expansion not given] we discovered hidden from the customers 1,750 kilograms of meat, 750 containers of imported coffee syrup, 400 kilograms of butter, 700 kilograms of chicken legs, and 100 kilograms of red fish. At the warehouse of the food base of the Frunzenskiy RTO there were 280 tons of granulated sugar and five tons of tea that were not made available for sale. In the refrigeration facilities of Mosryba [Moscow Association of the Fish Trade] they had accumulated 193 tons of black caviar whose deadline for sale had already passed.

In Arkhangelsk Oblast a truck was used to ship out cigarettes, shoes, clothing, and imported household equipment. That is how the director of store No. 2, A. Pershin, "settled up" with the timber enterprise for the lumber for building his dacha.

As far as I know, the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow Gorispolkom [city executive committee] and Mostorg [Moscow Trade Administration] are taking administrative measures against managers who violate trade rules, although it would seem that these managers deserve criminal punishment.

We have registered cases where meat is delivered from the Moscow meat combine not to the stores but directly to the Dorogomilovskiy Market and also to cooperatives and even private apartments. Refrigeration Combine No. 12 turned out to be the supplier of meat for the trade and purchasing enterprise later selling it at extremely inflated prices at the Perovskiy Market.

With the critical shortage of food and consumer goods in the capital, which is regarded by many Muscovites as a consequence of the "economic blockade" of the city, we have recorded an intensive shipping out from Moscow of goods that are in short supply, including imported goods. But there is no basis for a complaint: The documentation was filled out correctly. We still have to figure out the legality of these maneuvers.

I understand that the quintals and tons of shortage food and delicacies we discovered are, of course, a drop in the bucket of Moscow trade. But these are the first steps, and one can already see that this "running faucet" has not been turned off for long. Paradoxically, nobody can say precisely how much food is in Moscow and where it is. And yet it is especially important to know this today, and we must have a strict and extremely operational accounting. Having destroyed the centralized distribution system, the city has not yet created any other mechanism.

According to our estimates, there are no grounds for the hysterics about a famine. The more so since the Moscow Gorispolkom is taking great pains to improve the supply. The USSR has very seriously engaged in extending a "helping hand" to Moscow. The calculated mass of resources is such that although it cannot provide abundance, it can provide for the normal average level of consumption. Why are people not succeeding at doing this everywhere—this is food for thought for all honest trade workers and our analysts. If we find an answer we will have a clearer idea of the nature of this economic sabotage is and how to fight against it.

[Makhlin] Our newspaper has already discussed the participation of state security organs in the fight against organized crime. Now few people think that large-scale and long-term machinations, including with food and other consumer goods, can be attributed to individuals or small closed groups. Because of your job you must have not only and not so much intuition as information. What does it show?

[Prilukov] I fully agree with your assumptions. The machinations, the rapid growth of speculation both in breadth and depth, and the creation of a shortage are not the work of individuals. There are plenty of facts confirming this. During the course of operational surveillance we have established private addresses where large batches of products are divided up. One can assume that these apartments and other premises are used as temporary warehouses and transshipment points in the chain of the speculative sale of goods. This confirms once again the information we have at our disposal concerning the existence in Moscow and the Moscow area of a ramified and well organized network of thieves and speculators. In a number of cases they enjoy the support of corrupt bureaucrats and organs of power, including law enforcement organs.

This is the simplest chain: salesman-driver-base; it has been smoothing out its operation for years. The more complicated structures of the shadow economy are attuned for rapid adaptability to any conditions, and one might say that they are self-reproducing. For them the formula "Everything that is not prohibited is permitted" is like a nutrient broth for bacteria.

[Makhlin] Our readers still recall the affair of the Okean firm and the Moscow trade leaders that caused a big stir at one time. The resolute actions of the Chekists received public support, but even then it seemed to many people that the hotbeds of crime had not been completely wiped out. You will agree that today's development of events confirms their worst fears. The always soothing sounding justifications referring to the relatively small share of resources appropriated by the underground millionaires,

the need to take advantage of their wasted organizational and entrepreneurial talents in the interests of society, the usefulness and even progressiveness of speculative transactions, the notion that under the conditions of the market all means are good, ... In a word, these songs and dances are becoming less and less convincing, especially for people who obey the well-known commandments: Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not kill, and so forth.

The sum of the removed values (and how much more has been salted away!) are such that criminal groups can afford to have their own security services, engage in agitation and propaganda, and support influential protectors. To what extent are these factors reflected in the work of the law enforcement organs?

Decisiveness and uncompromisingness are expected from your service once again. "Moscow is actually half starving, and the deputies still listen to what they are told, and they speak themselves," writes L. Morozova from Nezhinskaya Ulitsa. "We must, with the help of the KGB, immediately inspect all food warehouses, stores, food cooperatives, and railroads. We have had enough of people talking through their teeth and lying. What is the government waiting for—rebellion and blood? Or is the well fed person not the comrade to the starving one?"

No less angry signals are coming from the people who go to the markets, especially in Riga. There, out in plain sight, they sell imported shoes, domestic cigarettes, and vodka right out of the boxes. The militia observe them calmly. The indifference of the patrol and sentry service with regard to speculators and underhanded salesmen is striking. They would rather protect the rogues from the people waiting in line than protect the people in line from outright deception. If the KGB cannot put an end to the outbreak of nationwide theft and deception, the halo of incorruptibility will fall from your service.

[Prilukov] Yes, we understand quite well that what is expected of us is not momentary effective actions but a thorough search and disclosure of the mechanism for squandering and robbing the population, the channels for the "leakage" of products, and a disclosure not only of the perpetrators but, the main thing, of the organizers and the people who allow the theft of food. Therefore we do not intend to shoot sparrows with a machine gun. And this is another question.

State security organs operate strictly within the framework of the law. And violators, particularly people from the shadow economy and the mafia, also strive to operate within the framework of the law, just on the verge of violation. What do you want us to do if the criminal and criminal procedure codes have not changed for three decades. And at that time there was no mention, for example, of organized crime. It was thought that the law was violated only by individuals and that they had put an end to banditry. As of today, there is no legal definition of economic sabotage at all. Society is buzzing and you are always hearing: organized crime, economic sabotage, the mafia. Legal experts have their own language and their own interpretation. The contradiction is that the legal morality and the legal consciousness have driven out the creation of norms.

In the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Criminal Code Article 69 stipulates liability for acts of sabotage, that is, action or inaction directed toward undermining industry, transportation, agriculture, the monetary system, trade, and so forth, with the goal of weakening the state. But what if this is not the goal? If the intention is selfish and amounts merely to lining one's own pocket? After all, there are now people who say that such actions, on the contrary, contribute to the development of the market and thus to the strengthening of the state.

Workers of law enforcement organs are waiting impatiently for the legislature to clearly define the concept of economic sabotage and introduce an additional article into the Criminal Code. Otherwise, our efforts are worth nothing. They evoke nothing but ridicule from the saboteurs.

The law is the Chekists' main instrument. But now in encounters with criminals who are armed under conditions of unbridled democracy and all-permissiveness, under conditions of the complete inadequacy of the legal norms vis-a-vis the outbreak of crime, we frequently end up unarmed. In the literal and figurative sense. In particular, the law does not regulate the use of arms by Chekists. Except for operations of seizing a criminal. So are we to operate according to the principle that: "Everything is permitted that is not prohibited"? Workers of the KGB Administration are armed when they conduct trade inspections and other operations. But that should be reinforced by a norm, as it is in any civilized state.

It would be funny if it were not so sad. For example: When an operations worker stops a truck loaded with illegal cargo, he does not have the right to break the seal. Can he take the documents that unmask the criminals? This is an entire problem in itself.

It is not without reason that our workers are called operatives. They are obliged to act quickly, decisively, and suddenly, for otherwise the criminal will manage to cover up their tracks. Today's criminal is considerably more clever and resourceful than his predecessors, and his security is better. And on the whole throughout the world this is no accident. Special services in the United States have spent 15 years chasing the American drug mafia. And in keeping with the law a secret FBI agent may act in a court as a full-fledged witness for the prosecution. For us as well the infiltration of agents into the ranks of an opponent is new for us and penetrating its inner sanctum requires a good deal of time. Although we had certain of our positions before as well. Our secret aides risk their lives in this. But neither their testimony nor evidence obtained with operational-technical means are accepted by the courts or procurators.

The open secret was kept until recently. As if there were no agents of Soviet special services in nature. They exist throughout the world but, you see, we do not have them. And now some people are acting self-righteously and holding forth about the immorality of "stool pigeons." I cannot tolerate informers. But there never has been, is not, and never will be any special services activity without intelligence agents, in any country under any structure. Such people exist and they always will. So we should legalize their status. In this connection I cannot but note the strange situation with respect to the law on the KGB. With it society would live more peacefully and the Chekists would work better. There are endless discussions of this, but in the foreseeable future of USSR Supreme Soviet activity we cannot see any discussion of this draft law, which has been ready for a long time; not even a first reading.

We are clearly aware of whom we are dealing with. We have already received anonymous phone calls with threats against the apartments of a number of workers, attempts have been made to bribe Chekists, and steps have been taken to infiltrate state security organs with "their people."

It is clear that the enlistment of Chekists in the fight against economic sabotage is a necessary measure. You mentioned the most sensational cases in our time, but they were fragmentary in nature. The KGB Administration was sometimes forced to halt and sometimes to shift activity with respect to the shadow economy. And I emphasize that this work will not tolerate dilettantism or superficiality. As long we were not drawn into this work, as long as we remained inactive, the capital, shall we say, "mafiosi" were perfecting their work, arming themselves, and arranging influential connections. Today, it seems, we are looking at the criminal pyramids somewhere in the middle, but we will make our way to the top. Because we are undertaking this not as another campaign but in a thorough and professional way. And we will be working in the closest cooperation with the militia, the procuracy, and the public.

[Makhlin] Having been granted the opportunity to observe the work of the soviets at various levels, people who analyze the consequences of the decisions that have been made more and more frequently ask this question: Who is it that allows the legalization of loopholes for the rich to get richer and the poor to get poorer? It is naive to blame the trial and error method. Society is not a laboratory and it is not a proving ground where a negative result, an accident, or, as they say now, unpredictable consequences are also results that are of interest to science. We are speaking about economic sabotage, and are the Chekists not studying the nature of the appearance of various provisions of normative acts and with whose permission and in whose interests they are adopted? Or, conversely, why they are not adopted or are blocked? After all, as we enter the market we are not protected from foreign and domestic—to put it mildly—unconscientiousness and dishonesty. I am directing this question particularly to you also because a "mistake" in solving economic problems entails more than just losses of material values. It does damage to the economic independence and prestige of the state. But that is not fatal. Well, how does a mistake "hide" in documents of a political and military nature? There is no time to correct mistakes, and certain people do not want this. They deliberately muddy the water. But the lack of a mechanism for protection certainly does not rule out the existence of a mechanism for attack.

[Prilukov] Joining together with law enforcement organs and the state and soviet apparatus at all levels is a typical feature of organized crime. And when they manage to do this you can expect trouble. In the figurative expression of V.A. Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR KGB, organized crime is a many-headed dragon, it is a symbiosis of the criminal world, the shadow economy, and corruption. All these actively invade the structures of power and politics and, consequently, the area of the security of the state and of society. And this is why the fight against organized crime is a problem that is moral, political, and constitutional. World parliamentary practice convinces us of the expediency of enlisting representatives of law enforcement organs and special services in the preparation of draft laws precisely for an expert evaluation of the crime-causing consequences of the decisions that are made. For some reason we have not adopted this procedure, and this is too bad. As a result, measures of law enforcement organs are taken after the fact.

That was the case with cooperatives, with the rapid shifts in the policy on taxing them. As a result, in addition to what was truly valuable and useful for society, there appeared organizations that fed on the difficulties the people were encountering. It is not only time but, as they say, their re-registration should have been conducted by the rayispolkoms yesterday. For many cooperatives have been "reprofiled" to get around regulations and they have engaged in reselling, that is, speculation, so that there are no goods left, and non-cash funds are being pumped into accounts of cash on hand. Many questions arise with joint ventures. Some joint ventures do more harm than good. And this has to do not only with the economy; the ecology frequently suffers as well.

It would seem to be a sin to hide under a bushel the information we have obtained, sometimes at the risk of our lives. We inform the leadership of the country and republic and the Moscow Soviet about the possible negative development of various events and try to warn them. There is far from always a reaction to this. We must put out fires, although some people might have to get burned. Continuing with this subject, I would like to note that many deputies are not familiar enough with the forms and methods and also the results of the work of the militia, the KGB, and the procuracy. Unfortunately, some of them do not want to know more, being satisfied with the cliche about "bloody hands" and "the powerful monster."

At the same time it is recognized that the situation in the country is extraordinary. Consequently, extraordinary

measures must be taken, and the law enforcement organs must have the corresponding authority. For we are not talking about some ill-fated, contrived political investigation or about the suppression of nonconformity, but about organized crime. What kind of threat to democracy, what kind of suppression of freedoms can there be here? Perhaps the rogues and scoundrels will stop feeling that they are privileged and the bandits and murderers will feel that society is protected and can fight back.

At the same time certain specialists who have knowledge and experience quite deliberately confuse and frighten people with discussions about the "morality" of one or another of the work methods of the state security organs. And they do not even shrink before out-and-out lies, letting their fervid imaginations run free.

I think that in time we will be able to give a specific answer as to who is doing this because it is fashionable and who is under orders.

I must say that sometimes the trails of the "shadow economy workers," unfortunately, lead to the corps of deputies. Especially at the rayon level. But speaking in the language of diplomats, a deputy at any level is a persona non grata.

[Makhlin] The demoted KGB general, O. Kalugin, revealed the existence during the years of stagnation of a ban on the supervision of the activity of certain units of party, soviet, and administration leadership. Now it turns out that the category of "immune" individuals has expanded as a result of being joined by the deputy corps. It cannot be ruled out that in a couple of years another former Chekist will appear and expose our modern practice. Your opinion about this would be of interest. And how is the performance of special service functions arranged with respect to legislators in other countries?

[Prilukov] I am convinced that nobody should have immunity under the law. Any "immune caste," regardless of how small it may initially be and regardless of how carefully it is selected, will in time degenerate into a group permitting everything. Every citizen, without exception, should be equal under the law, in both rights and responsibilities. Then we will have a rule-of-law state, and then it will be possible to talk about democracy.

In other countries the special services relate to the legislators in exactly the same way as the rank-and-file members of the society do. For example, U.S. congressmen have immunity only in the building of Congress, and Japanese legislators—in their meeting hall. Incidentally, this is why they have the parliamentary police there. Outside their place of work, the legislators are just as accessible to law enforcement organs as an other citizen is. But for now, since we have not yet reached the level of democracy and equality in rights and responsibilities, it would seem that it would be fair in the near future for the commissions on ethics to develop a code of honor for the people's deputy that includes a requirement on the deputy taking an oath to serve the people and the homeland honestly and in all ways contribute to the activity of law enforcement organs for protecting the interests of the state and the society. Incidentally, it would not hurt to think about the development of a income declaration for all elected representatives of the people.

[Makhlin] Who works in the KGB Administration in the capital? From the statements of certain former state security workers, one gets the impression that it is full of old-timers burdened by participation in repressions and the suppression of nonconformity, and the young people are professionally semiliterate "criminals," that is to say, they are comfortably situated in soft jobs they acquired through influence. Forgive me, but people are saying that the Chekists are engaging in the fight against economic crime because they have nothing else to do under modern conditions.

[Prilukov] The average age of the operations personnel of our administration is 37-40 years. As a rule, they have gone through Chekist training after they have already earned diplomas in law and specialties in various areas of science and technology. They are not sent to work for us. We ourselves carefully search for and find reinforcements, mainly in the labor collectives of the capital and on their recommendations.

As for the "soft jobs," judge for yourself: They do not have a standard work day, there is the strictest secrecy, and they are in a permanent state of mobilized readiness. Add to this the merciless barrage of criticism against the "elite" KGB for the sins of people we have never seen face to face. Plus the so-called fixed incomes under the conditions of a market economy. We recently calculated that more than 100 of our officers have families in which each member receives R80. It is embarrassing to say that we are on the brink of poverty. So there is no reason to speak about a "soft job," and it never has been this.

Anybody who was attracted to our work by titles, regalia, high salaries, and privileges was disenchanted and has left the service. Some people have even ended up on the other side of the barricade. But these are only individual cases. The main reason for discharge, and such things happen today, is the impossibility under current conditions of feeding a family on an officer's salary. At the present time both the leadership of the USSR KGB and the government are looking for ways to change the situation.

What is true is true, we have a large volume of work, and the rumors about how many personnel we have are greatly exaggerated. Everything is relative. For example, in the rayons that are served by 1,500-2,000 militiamen our rayon KGB divisions have 12-15 workers. This is the average, so compared to the militia as a whole, that is, we have a hundred times fewer.

Under modern conditions we have even more work. For foreign special services are being activated in a number of areas that have become vulnerable. Our country has become open, but, like any other self-respecting state, the

Soviet Union has many secrets that must be protected. Incidentally, there has been special interest in the USSR economy recently.

We cannot complain about the professionalism of our workers; at least we were able to staff the service for fighting organized crime ourselves, on a purely voluntary basis. We have selected the most experienced, professionally trained, and physically strong combat officers. One of the conditions we have placed on them is mandatory consent of the family, since the work is very dangerous. We can courageously enter into intelligence work with any one of our comrades. We are confident of one another.

[Makhlin] Could you give us some concrete examples of the effectiveness of your basic activity? And does the additional load not impede the Chekists' performance of their immediate duties?

[Prilukov] For quite understandable reasons, I can speak about far from everything. Here are just a couple of words. In 1990 a foreigner "C" was deprived of his residency permit and expelled from the USSR. His job was to gather information of a military nature for a third state. We closed the investigation of the case of a worker from a scientific production association who tried to turn secret information over to a representative of foreign intelligence. The materials were submitted to the RSFSR Supreme Court. We stopped an attempt on the part of two scientific associates to send to the United States geophysical information that contained commercial secrets. We established the identity of the author of an anonymous letter threatening the murder of a USSR people's deputy.

Since the beginning of the year we have broken up 28 crime groups. During nine months 216 units of fire arms have been confiscated with the help of Chekists. We have prevented 701 crimes related to theft or illegal storage of arms, as compared to 537 for the same period of last year.

In open criminal cases involving contraband we have confiscated R3.5 million worth of money and valuables. We stopped an attempt to ship 1,600 items of iconography, painting, and art works out of the country. As a result of an supplementary examination of almost 300 files on contraband, in cooperation with customs, we confiscated R9 million worth of valuables and currency from Soviet and foreign citizens. Recently we confiscated 63 kilograms of gems worth R900,000. In nine months of this year we returned to the state more than 200 kilograms of various kinds of gems and gold items and many other valuables.

I especially mention the work on reviewing cases of victims of Stalin's repressions done with the forces of the KGB Administration. We studied 4,000 criminal cases, as a result of which 6,700 people were rehabilitated.

Now about our new tasks. Of course, this is an additional load. But the state security organs are not alone in fighting against economic sabotage. This is the prerogative mainly of the militia and the procuracy. We will contribute to them and help them in all ways while not forgetting about our main tasks. And it would not be rational or in keeping with state policy, probably, to use personnel of the KGB Administration in cases that are being handled successfully by the militia and the public. Therefore we will concentrate our efforts on eliminating the most secret and the most dangerous criminal groups.

We are placing great hopes in the public, the healthy segments of society, and interactions with the worker control groups created to replace people's control, mistakenly eliminated. It was given very significant authority—in any case more than was given to the law enforcement organs, having in mind the work of preventing and avoiding violations of trade rules.

We are also counting on help from the newspapers. For the shadow economy, like a fire, is afraid of the light of publicity. For our part, we promise to regularly inform MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA about the measures being taken and the results of our operations.

[Makhlin] Thank you. Agreed.

Result of USSR's Breakup Considered

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["Observers opinion" by Yevgeniy Shashkov: "Political Herostratoses in the 'Theater of the Absurd' with an Unpredictable Finale"]

[Text] At Tokyo's Narita International Airport at the end of December, a customs official noticed in my passport: "Place of Birth—Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]" and asked: "Where's that?" I had to explain that this is one of the Baltic republics belonging to the USSR. Today Lithuania is news throughout the world although it is already beginning to be overshadowed by the war in the Persian Gulf.

The tragic death of several of the republic's citizens is being received with deep sorrow not only in the USSR but also abroad. The first reaction, particularly in the Western press, was emotional and angry. But already an attempt at analysis is beginning: Who created the "seething cauldron" in the republic, who is to blame?

At present there are no complete answers to the most complex questions. Although, in my view, the bulk of the blame rests with the extremist "captains" from Sajudis. They spent almost all of last year leading the republic up a tragic impasse: Instead of getting on with the job they set about pulling T-34 tanks off pedestals and whipping up the nationalist scum, and then not only failed to protect the citizens who put their trust in them but on the contrary, urged on their excited people with a mailed fist. It is still not too late to recall the old adage: "If you can't do the job, make way for someone who can." Incidentally, the first to make this point were the

Western mass media so fondly cited in the Baltics. Germany's GENERAL-ANZEIGER wrote: "The political-ideological state of the national movements themselves causes far greater misgivings. Most of the 'people's fronts' in various republics entered the arena under the banner of democratic renewal. Meanwhile they themselves have almost without exception 'moved to the right:' Whether in the Baltics or in Georgia, where they are in power—their rule is acquiring increasingly pronounced authoritarian features and the pressure is directed not only against 'foreign' [inorodnyy) minorities but also against 'renegades,' most often liberal democrats in their own ranks."

That was written by a German journalist. But why did our "independent" press say nothing and why is it doing so still? Why did the "democratic forces" not sound the alarm? Did they really not know that last year the Baltic republics adopted a whole package of laws crudely violating the Declaration of Human Rights, to which the USSR is a signatory? Why did Democratic Russia not protest the laws adopted in the Baltics that flagrantly discriminate against the Russophone population or the legislative acts adopted in Lithuania making it possible to persecute the supporters of Soviet power? These resolutions are similar to the union acts adopted against fascist criminals during the Great Patriotic War years. Why did the "democratic movements" not sound the alarm when the Sajudis parliament adopted article 62 and authorized the death penalty for "hostile actions" against Lithuania and its government? Has everyone already forgotten the "Stalinist terror" that the press in our country, including the "independent" press, took such pains to expose?

As for the West, in my view the governments of the leading countries are well informed about the processes taking place in the Baltics and the Union as a whole. This largely explains their quite restrained attitude toward the various "fronts." "Bush is showing no sympathy for the democratic movements in the Soviet Union. He does not like them...", Martin Coleman, executive director of the American Foundation for the Support of Resistance Movements, believes. Clearly it is thanks to his magnificent intuition, but also perhaps as a result of good information, that the U.S. President drew his own conclusion earlier than many people even in our country, a conclusion similar to the recent admission by the well-known radical A. Sobchak: "...those forces which we call democratic—they are not democratic at all."

Germany's leaders made up their minds in similar fashion as did others. Even though they must consider conflicting public moods in their actions and statements, G. Bush and H. Kohl also found it possible to react in a well considered way to events in Lithuania, showing tact and an understanding of the internal crisis our countryis experiencing. They also understand the extraordinarily difficult situation in which perestroyka has found itself because of an outburst of "tribalism" in the Baltic region. That was not a mistake on my part, I mean "perestroyka tribalism," because manifestations of nationalism are taking place outside our country, too, but are not comparable with what is happening in Lithuania. I do not even want to dwell on anticommunism because it is common knowledge that it was initially the midwife to these "people's fronts" and movements.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Saudargas, who is presently visiting Brussels, attacked the Western countries for their cautious stance and especially for the fact that "not a single weapon has been sent" to Lithuania. However, a number of governments and parliaments have reacted very sternly to the events. Of course, no Western parliamentarians have formed ranks and marched with protest banners along the streets and squares. That is not the way they do things. The British, for example, wouldn't even dream of doing such a thing: A column of members of parliament protesting outside the gates of Buckingham Palace about the death of people in Northern Ireland. At best, such an event would arouse bewilderment in the West. In our country, however, some holders of deputies' red badges organize such processions twice a week.

Nevertheless, what was the upshot of the Western protests? There were threats that if Moscow hinders the free departure of individual republics from the Union the USSR could lose credits, technical aid, and even grain supplies. Some analysts, developing Z. Brzezinski's well known thesis, have even begun calculating how many autonomous, independent states will appear in place of the Union. Their assessments vary. Some say 15-20. Others, however, go as high as 30. They ripped the whole thing apart without considering that, after decades of living together, the Soviet republics have changed demographically, their economies have become interlinked, and they can no longer split up without suffering losses, even blood.

This whole process of sharing out the hide of a living bear is being conducted, as a rule, to the accompaniment of muted discussions that this is the only way the path to true democracy, sovereignty, and freedom can be opened up for the peoples of the Soviet Union. The most surprising thing is that all this is being taken completely seriously not only in the West but in our country, too. I admit that some foreign conservatives would in principle be happy with the "great partition" of the Union: They are hoping to do away with the giant in the East once and for all. But for the entire civilized world community, this would be yet another "small gift." Imagine for a moment: Thirty poor, embittered, dwarf states hysterically screeching about their eternal commitment to democratic values and desperately fighting each other to get at the supplies of Western aid...

But these are merely the "little blossoms." Whereas the "little berries," that will surely make the entire world community sick, come later. It is well known that the USSR, as a major nuclear superpower, is a most important element of the world strategic balance. It is no secret to anyone that, even after the implementation of the

Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, many Soviet republics will still be full of nuclear weapons. There are also tactical missiles, nuclear artillery charges, and of course strategic missiles of various basing modes. Even to the uninitiated it is clear what potential danger a country belonging to the "nuclear club" possesses. Recall the alarm sounded in the West when it was reported that a group of thugs in Azerbaijan had tried to capture a nuclear munitions depot near Baku. This unverified fact was immediately included in a report to the European parliament by the Oxford research group on European security problems.

Now let us consider the plan for the "great partition" of the USSR from the nuclear angle. This is not only a subject for the "theater of the absurd," this would fill a whole "horror movie." Here is just one scene from real life, one not even connected with weapons. The despairing workers at Lithuania's Ignalina AES [nuclear electric power station] are ready to declare a strike and leave the station at idling speed. An unpredictable situation could be created. Admittedly, the Baltic Military District's troops will now take the station under their protection if anything happens. But if a situation occurs where they cannot do that or are too late to do it... What will the members of the world community do then, the Scandinavians for example? Just one thing: Pray that the wind doesn't blow in their direction.

Let us take another scenario. In some of the 20-30 independent states to be formed during the "great partition," as the West believes, unpredictable regimes are bound to come to power, sometimes even Iraqi-style dictatorships. To ensure their own security, win prestige, and gain greater influence over those like them, they will surely try to acquire nuclear weapons. I foresee objections: Democratic states will never agree to that. However, it is not only authoritarian regimes suffering from nuclear ambitions today but Israel, too, calling itself a democratic state.

Until recently, such scenes seemed unrealistic to me despite the fact that they were being seriously discussed by Western specialists, including those belonging to the prestigious conference on preventing accidental nuclear war held recently in Stockholm. But after Boris Yeltsin's comments on the possibility of creating a Russian army I realized: Foreign specialists are not discussing topics for a "theater of the absurd" but are modeling a real possibility. I foresee objections: The possible creation of Russian military structures does not mean supplanting the USSR Armed Forces. This is merely a question of some insignficant formations to protect the republic's sovereignty. But such explanations will only satisfy amateurs, those who are unfamiliar with military building, who are unaware of the self-sustaining character of the arms process. But that process, as specialists know, has its own inner logic that neither senates nor parliaments in the West can resist, not to mention certain of our republican Supreme Soviets becoming bogged down in endless discussions. It only needs the first step to be taken.

The world community's entire experience indicates that the "nuclear temptation" is just as difficult to combat as drug addiction. Especially when the nuclear "legacy," for the sake of whose creation all the peoples of the USSR denied themselves the most essential things for almost 20 years, may be handed them as a gift. How can one fail to recall the forecast of former CIA Deputy Director Ray Cline: "The problem of a great Russia with a population of 150 million and armed with nuclear weapons is quite feasible."

The hasty steps to create a Russian army, if taken, will enable the "various armed formations" in the Baltics to institutionalize themselves as national armies on "legitimate" grounds (so long as the center continues to employ the purely epistolary genre). Sundry thugs in Moldova and the Transcaucasus will be able to do the same. Nor, I think, will the Ukrainian Rukh remain aloof from this and especially not the OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], that already has military structures. They are bound to acquire nuclear ambitions if you bear in mind the fact that there is more than enough nuclear "property" in the Ukraine already. In the Caucasus, as already mentioned, such tendencies were noted a year ago.

In the atmosphere of universal chaos, if, God forbid, the "great partition" begins, a special role will be played by the several tens of millions of homeless Russians (including at least 1 million retired officers of various generations) who are being "evicted" from the national republics and whom Russia, rent by fierce political and economic crisis, will have nothing to offer. I am afraid that this gigantic human stratum will be like a cargo that has broken loose in a ship's hold and is crushing everything in its path.

I am bound to mention the attempts at the "creative" transfer of East European scenarios to our land. This demonstrates, in my view, a mental laxity and a poor intellectual potential on the part of those who are doing it. In 1989 and 1990 I witnessed the change of systems in almost all the former socialist countries, some—with all due respect for their national specifics—are comparable in terms of territory, population, and even problems only with Moscow City and Oblast. In a multinational nuclear superpower with its Eurasian mentality, an orientation toward these scenarios leads to tragedy. As for the splitting of the Armed Forces, we have already been through that. The people will not endure two civil wars in one century. There must be fundamentally different and specific paths for the transformation of society.

The last thing I want to do is engage in intimidation or gloomy predictions. Especially now, when the world has entered the final decade of the millennium. And at the junction of two millennia, as the ancients used to say, even the most improbable forecasts come true. These are merely theatrical scenes inspired by the unceasing attempts of our own and foreign political Herostratoses to burn down their own home.

Profiles of Members of Gorbachev's New Team

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["Prediction" prepared by A. Vasilyev, I. Gricher, S. Drozdov, A. Pankratov, and I. Sichka: "The President's New 'Team'?"]

[Text]

Igor Klyamkin, political scientist:

"I see two possible scenarios for the further development of events.

"First: The central power initiates the reforms counting on the idea that the preservation of the controlled army and the deep roots of the 'defense consciousness' will make it possible to hold onto control and, if necessary, put down dissatisfaction with force. This will mean the last and decisive step in the direction of authoritarianism and its final emergence with unpredictable consequences for all, including for the fate of the current central power itself...

"The second scenario: Gorbachev takes advantage of his increasing personal power primarily to transfer a considerable amount of the power from the center to the republics. The essence of this scenario: First—the Union treaty and political independence of the republics (including, of course, Russia) and only then the market and the market economy..."

June, 1990.

It is difficult to guess who will be included in the new cabinet...

1. The first member of the new presidential "team" has already been named: Gennadiy YANAYEV became the country's vice president. He is a person who stands firmly on the CPSU platform but does not definitely represent the military-industrial complex, the party apparatus, or any particular region. He is loyal to the president and is not inclined to want too much independence. These qualities apparently determined the president's choice.

2. Two people are really in the running for the portfolio of the head of the cabinet of ministers: the current chairman of Gosplan [State Planning Committee], YU. MASLYUKOV, and Minister of Finance V. PAVLOV. Both are strong professionals and flexible politicians, they have never been subjected to radicalism, and they are close to the military-industrial complex.

3. The Security Council will apparently be headed by the president himself. The idea is that this will be the most important organ, something like the former Politburo, with wide-ranging authority. There is reason to assume that the basic struggle here will develop not so much around the figure of the leader as around the authority and functions of this organ.

4. CPSU Central Committee Politburo Member A. DZASOKHOV has the best chances of heading the foreign political department. YE. PRIMAKOV or Permanent USSR Representative to the UN YU. VORONTSOV, who is named by certain political scientists, might also be considered.

5. KGB Chairman V. KRYUCHKOV will probably retain his post. The strengthening of the executive organs of power requires a reliable and tested person at the head of this department.

6. This pertains also to the recently appointed minister of internal affairs, B. PUGO.

Incidentally, these predictions are fairly arbitrary. The example of G. Yanayev shows that the president can make the most unexpected moves. Add to this the necessity of making the new appointment through the Supreme Soviet, whose leader is A. Lukyanov who has his own opinion regarding many issues.

*...it is easier to say who will not be.*Aleksandr YAKOVLEV

He is perhaps the first of Gorbachev's "starting" team to go overboard when the political ship turned right. Inconvenient because of his views, Aleksandr Nikolayevich continues to think that the 1985 diagnosis of our society requires study—and there is still a lot we do not know. Glasnost, in Yakovlev's opinion, is not only freedom of speech for the mass media but also openness of the entire society. And this kind of glasnost we do not have. Executive authority has failed, but for some reason the first to declare the collapse of economic ties were the ministries and departments, that is, those who are directly responsible for stability.

Eduard SHEVARDNADZE

His appointment to a ministerial post in 1985 evoked confusion in many and ridicule in some. But Eduard Amvrosiyevich very quickly gained respect and not only from his subordinates in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but also from diplomats and state figures throughout the world.

One can hardly expect Shevardnadze's return to official structures in the near future. According to information we have, Eduard Amvrosiyevich intends to engage in "informal" activity within the framework of the Association of Foreign Policy, which he created.

Boris YELTSIN

In a situation of general political disenchantment, he more than any other of the present leaders has managed to retain his political rating. Under Yeltsin's leadership the Russian parliament, although it has already relinquished a number of positions to the Union (for example, the "500 days" program), nonetheless is capable of arguing with the center and finding compromises.

Grigoriy YAVLINSKIY

The 38-year-old candidate of sciences has worked for six and a half months as the deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers. True to his word, he retired when his "500 day" program was retired.

In his words, "We ended up in a situation where the only way out was a specially selected, very modern team possessing the authority and the ability to carry out its decisions."

Apparently Yavlinskiy did not believe that Gorbachev's was that team.

Yuriy RYZHOV

Doctor of technical sciences, professor. Before his election as chairman of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet for Science he worked as rector of the Moscow Aviation Institute. At the present time he is perhaps one of the most qualified specialists in the area of national security. But...he is too independent and nonconformist in his views. His concept of national security is similar to the "500 days" program.

Commentary on Appointment of New Prime Minister

91UN0718A Moscow TRUD in Russian
15 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Article by TRUD political observer V. Golovachev: "Simply a Change of Government?"]

[Text] Yesterday USSR President M.S. Gorbachev presented the USSR Supreme Soviet with a candidate for the post of leader of the Cabinet of Ministers—V.S. Pavlov, who used to hold the key post of minister of finance in the N.I. Ryzhkov government. The Union parliament agreed to the proposal from the head of state. Thus there begins the embodiment of a radical reorganization of executive power at the center, now directly subordinate to the president. This is not simply a change of government; it is a switch to a structure of presidential rule.

Way back in mid-November last year M.S. Gorbachev said that "the Cabinet of Ministers should include new workers who are filled with initiative and think in the new way." No kind of evaluation of the activity of the government was made at that time, but anyone could easily guess that if new workers were needed—workers with initiative and ability to think in the new way—then obviously, many of those entering the USSR Council of Ministers did not possess, or fully possess, those qualities.

Say what you will, the Council of Ministers has been subjected to considerable criticism. In my opinion, it was in many cases fully justified. The serious mistakes permitted by the government have significantly hastened the country's slide into an economic abyss. Yes, of course there were also other causes, both objective causes inherent in the period of perestroyka, and subjective causes resulting from incorrect political decisions, but I think that the government's miscalculations in economic strategy and tactics cannot be denied, and they have done great harm to the economy.

In a recent interview with Academician N.Ya. Petrakov, when talking about the reasons for the very profound crisis he also mentioned the "mistakes in the economy that we keep making over and over again."

"At a meeting of the Presidential Council in April last year," N.Ya. Petrakov said, citing one example, "serious objections were voiced against raising the purchase prices for grain. Today one of our chief misfortunes is that the enormous mass of useless money [pustyye dengi] that has no commodity backup has destroyed the economy. And raising purchase prices for grain and thus pouring in an additional 9 billion rubles [R] will create no kind of incentive. For the "useless" ruble has not provided incentive for people in the countryside. Notwithstanding, the government did raise purchase prices. And the result? Even with the record harvest, state grain procurements are lower than, for example, 1986 or 1987, when the harvest was much poorer. Because about two-thirds of the grain has been kept at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It was the same in 1928, when the strength of the "chervonets" [10-ruble banknote] started to decline. Why does the countryside need money if there is nothing to buy? The misgivings in April were justified. We did not get the grain, and R9 billion were tossed into the economy, disorganizing it even more..."

I have known Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov for many years. At one time I took a trip to "Uralmash," where TRUD had organized a seminar on the exchange of leading experience. In earlier years and later I have had occasion to talk in both an official and an unofficial capacity and to attend meetings of the Council of Ministers Presidium chaired by N.I. Ryzhkov... His sincerity, probity, and endless devotion to work, and his many other qualities seemed to me personally, and to many others, profoundly sympathetic. Last autumn, when responding to a question from a journalist during a recess between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning whether or not there would be a military coup in the country, Nikolay Ivanovich said very seriously: "Fight our own people?! In general you cannot hold the country at bayonet point..."

I have recently been thinking more and more often that the person needed to assume the burden of responsibility for carrying out a very complicated economic reform under present conditions should not simply be a good organizer of production but an economist, and not simply an economist but a person who is very well versed in the sphere of economics, requiring extensive specialized knowledge and definite practical experience, and the ability to think in economic categories and foresee and calculate the consequences of decisions reached. Mistakes are very costly here.

Considerable criticism has also been directed at V.S. Pavlov; less than at the chairman of the Council of Ministers, but enough just the same. The logic is quite understandable: The economic crisis is largely the result of the failure of the financial system, and Pavlov is the minister of finance. But I think that it is not all quite so simple. I am not about to analyze every step ever taken by the USSR minister of finance, but I do know that there have been many cases when Pavlov has expressed disagreement with the suggested drafts of government decisions, written memorandums, justified his objections in a well-argued manner, and talked about possible negative consequences, but unfortunately they by no means always agreed with him...

When presenting his candidate for the post of prime minister yesterday to the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR president said that V.S. Pavlov has repeatedly raised the question of why we are moving so slowly and wasting time, and why negative processes are building up, and the fact that it is essential to act more decisively. Pavlov has even raised the question of whether it is necessary to have a finance minister when his recommendations are not heard. But M.S. Gorbachev at that time asked him to remain at his post and not to resign...

None of this, of course, means that Pavlov has always been right or that the mistakes and miscalculations made by the government have nothing to do with him. He has both made mistakes (incidentally, I have also had occasion to criticize his decisions on the pages of TRUD), and a considerable part of the responsibility for the state of the economy must also be borne by the minister of finance. And, like every member of the leadership, he also bears his share of responsibility for the state of affairs in the country, the USSR president emphasized.

But in one thing many of Pavlov's colleagues and opponents converge: He is not simply a competent economist but a top-class specialist. A doctor of economic sciences, he has great practical experience and can consider himself not one step ahead, but far ahead. Yesterday M.S. Gorbachev said of V.S. Pavlov that he stands out among leaders of state stature because of his profound and fundamental knowledge of economics and finance. He is able to draw lessons from the mistakes made by the previous government. A man of great experience and character, prepared to assume the burden of responsibility. So, let us hope.

... Not long ago, in late October of last year, Pavlov told me that he was trying to convince the leadership not to adopt the Council of Ministers resolution on production cooperatives; he thought that the harm would be greater than the benefits. But on that occasion, too, his conclusions had no effect and the government resolution "On the Interrelationship Between State Enterprises and Cooperatives Set Up Under them" was adopted.

As far as I can judge Valentin Sergeyevich is a bold man. It was apparently he who was the first to report officially in an article published in TRUD that in the USSR exploitation of the workers is twice as high as in the developed capitalist countries. This was being announced by a member of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium, the minister of finance. I know that at the time not everyone was pleased with that, but Pavlov has not taken back his words...

His present appointment sets very difficult tasks for him. The country is disintegrating and the negative trends remain, and we continue to fall, even though it sometimes seems that we have already reached bottom. Today, stabilization is vitally necessary. We need to take decisive steps in the very near future, sometimes painful and unpopular steps. And under today's conditions it is no longer possible to experiment, and we have no right to commit blunders. Decisions must be accurate.

Since it is part of the structure of presidential rule, the Cabinet of Ministers is subordinate to the USSR president ("Now I answer with my head for the work of the Cabinet of Ministers" M.S. Gorbachev said yesterday). This both facilitates and complicates the tasks of the premier. The decisions reached will be weighty, but on the other hand the independence of the premier and his cabinet will be somewhat restricted. The president is able to accept the proposals of the premier or not, just as he can the proposals from his economic advisers (and they have been able to say that their recommendations have not always been given the green light).

Due consideration must also be given to yet another important consideration, namely, that the new prime minister does not have much time at his disposal. Social tension in society has reached a kind of peak, so that if it is not possible in the months immediately ahead to deal with the negative trends in the economy, then the Cabinet of Ministers will find it hard to hold its ground. And given the enormous inertia in our economy and its decline, it is extremely difficult to make rapid changes...

An unprecedented burden of responsibility has been laid on the prime minister and his cabinet. Not only must we deal with the negative trends in the economy but also make a significant move toward the formulation of market relations in the country (and Pavlov is a convinced supporter of the market). We must work in quite a new situation, bearing in mind the new role of the republics. The USSR president also talked about this yesterday.

But come what may, V.S. Pavlov has assumed a heavy burden. Time will tell if he is up to it.

Yesterday the USSR president also presented to the USSR Supreme Soviet his candidates for the posts of deputy prime minister. In all it is planned to have seven deputies (there were 12 in the N.I. Ryzhkov government). Four candidates have thus far been presented to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation. V.Kh. Doguzhiyev (at present a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Council of Ministers State Commission for Extraordinary Situations), and V.M. Velichko, (at present USSR minister of heavy machine

building) are being proposed for the posts of the two first deputy chairmen. Those proposed for the posts of deputy prime ministers are Yu.D. Maslyukov (now first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee), and Academician N.P. Laverov (now deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, and vice president of the Academy of Sciences). The parliament has given its agreement to confirmation of USSR first deputy and deputy prime ministers.

M.S. Gorbachev reported to deputies yesterday that he wanted to propose V.V. Bakatin for the post of first deputy prime minister. It had been decided during discussion in the Federation Council to offer Bakatin the post of deputy prime minister. However, Vadim Viktorovich asked that they use him not in the Cabinet of Ministers but in the Security Council [Sovet Bezopasnosti]. According to M.S. Gorbachev, it is also proposed to use O.D. Baklanov there. It is of interest that Yu.D. Maslyukov and O.D. Baklanov were "rivals" to V.S. Pavlov during consideration of candidates for the post of prime minister.

Formation of entire Cabinet of Ministers will take place after its leadership has been confirmed.

Veterans Implore Youth To Stay in Party

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8 Jan 90 Second Edition p 4

[Letter from party veterans to the youth: "We Appeal to the Youth—Words from Veterans"]

[Text] *Young and youthful compatriots!*

At this critical hour for our Motherland we veterans of the Bolshevik Party formed by Lenin at the start of this century appeal to you.

History has subjected the peoples of our country to many severe trials. We have withstood them and emerged even stronger. Life has now plunged us into a new test, the outcome will determine the fate not only of the present generation of Soviet people but also that of our children and your whole future. How we withstand this test will depend on you to an enormous extent.

The word market is now on everyone's lips. How we enter it, how we organize life under the conditions of a market economy unfamiliar to us, is a most difficult question. But it is not only and not so much a question of this. The question of the fate of the Fatherland stands imperiously on the agenda.

It is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warning people of the impending danger and naming the paths surmounting it. But the more insistently it speaks about this, the more frenzied are the voices maintaining that our party is the sole culprit of the current situation.

It is being instilled in people that the Great October was a mistake of Lenin and the Bolsheviks and represented coercion of the people.

In reality the October Revolution was born of the very course of the historical development of Russia. A country that had become increasingly detached from and dependent on progressive countries. The choice made 73 years ago by the foremost forces of our people was a socialist choice, a choice in favor of democracy, progress, and freedom.

However, this choice is today being clamorously rejected by those orating at mass meetings and organizing all kinds of provocative mob gatherings. They are endeavoring to discredit the entire path we have trod over 73 years.

Ask yourselves: Why are today's vandals destroying monuments to Vladimir Ilich? Because they are endeavoring to deprive Soviet people, the younger generation particularly, of an ideological mainstay, to kill off their faith in the future and to blind them. It is a question not only of the attitude toward Lenin. The basic moral values of the people are at stake: love for the motherland, moral standards, patriotism, civic duty, respect for man.

Look with what stubbornness all that has been created by the labor and heroism of several generations is being derided. Industrialization, which turned backward Russia into a strong industrial power, is being declared unnecessary. But it is obvious to every intelligent person that it was because this most arduous task was accomplished that Hitler's tank hordes did not crush us. It was for this reason that Yuriy Gagarin was the first man to break free into the expanses of the universe.

The world admires the heroism of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army that saved mankind from the fascist plague. However, there are with us today also those who are futilely endeavoring to heap dirt on the Soviet Armed Forces. Do they know what a dirty deed they are doing and into whose hands they are playing?

Among the signatories to this letter there are many participants in the Patriotic War. And we veterans of it bear witness that the communists were the brains and heart of the Army and the partisan detachments. Three million of them gave their lives for our and your freedom. The exploit of the defenders of the Motherland is immortal.

Does what has been said mean that the CPSU renounces any responsibility for today's situation in the country? No. The party has told the people frankly: It will not evade responsibility both for what has happened in the past and for what it promised, but did not deliver. It was the CPSU which on its own initiative exposed the crimes of Stalinism.

The party of communists and the soviets are now adopting vigorous measures to preclude forever from our future state, based on the rule of law, the possibility of a

repetition of the crimes of that grim time. It is indisputable also that the majority of communists both then and now honestly served and continue to serve the people and are not responsible for the crimes of Stalin and his henchmen.

But our duty requires us at the same time to say this also. There is no shortage currently of political intriguers who are endeavoring to attire themselves in the garb of fighters against Stalinitis. Take a closer look, however, at those who are today straining their throats at mass meetings and talking loudest of all about democracy and pluralism from various platforms, and you will discover that while declaring the communists enemies and calling virtually for terror against them they are creating in society an atmosphere of intolerance and embitterment that is just a short step towards terrorizing dissidents.

Today this is still a moral execution. But tomorrow? So we ask ourselves: Are these "figures" not in reality contemplating casting us back to the former black times? Are some of them not quitting the party to free their hands? Passing themselves off as fighters against the "partocracy," they are in fact endeavoring to impose a regime of that same model rejected by the party back at the 20th congress and, conclusively, following the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum.

We old communists support perestroyka because its success will bring the party back to Lenin's standards and because it is oriented toward the building of genuine socialism, humane and democratic, and the establishment in the country of true democracy. But true democracy is inseparable from responsibility for the present and future of the country, where organization and discipline are as necessary as the air we breathe. Anarchy, destruction, and lawlessness are contra-indicated. This is why we support the policy of the president of the USSR and the general secretary of our party's Central Committee aimed at bringing order to bear everywhere and at the consolidation of Soviet society and the cohesion of all forces of democracy and progress. We call on you, our young friends, for the utmost support for the perestroyka course of our party.

Our young contemporaries! At stake today is the survival of the Motherland. It is up to you. Your future, the future of your children, the future of the Fatherland is in your hands. The Motherland awaits. Act in Leninist fashion! With Lenin into the future!

A group of old Bolsheviks: I.I. Kozodoyev, member of the CPSU since 1920; V.F. Sush, member of the CPSU since 1920; Ye.F. Kovalev, member of the CPSU since 1928; S.M. Bardin, member of the CPSU since 1931; M.S. Kuryanov, member of the CPSU since 1939; G.I. Pankratov, member of the CPSU since 1930; K.N. Belyak, member of the CPSU since 1941; V.A. Irmolyuk, member of the CPSU since 1941; P.V. Moskovskiy, member of the CPSU since 1940; I.S. Korneyeva, member of the CPSU since 1941; G.V. Sinkin, member of the CPSU since 1942; N.L. Bebenin, member of the CPSU since 1925; N.S. Bolotnova, member of the CPSU since 1939; A.P. Shitikov, member of the CPSU since 1939, and others.

Patriarch Comments on Union Treaty

91UN0671A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Dec 90 Union Edition p 4

[Statement by His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia Aleksey II: "On the Congress, the Union Treaty, and Christian Duty"]

[Text] **The gossip and various kinds of guesswork caused by the absence from the latest USSR Congress of People's Deputies of the Head of the Russian Orthodox Church, Aleksey II, who is a USSR people's deputy, have no serious foundation. His Holiness was unable to participate in the work of the congress because of illness. The Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia has kindly responded to our request and has deemed it necessary to express certain ideas on the discussions at the congress and the events unfolding in the country.**

I have, of course, been following the course of the congress attentively. Unfortunately, we have yet to be convinced that so large a meeting of deputies is in fact unsuited to real creativity and is doomed merely to supporting with its authority decisions proposed earlier by the executive power.

It is precisely because of this that the congress—and it understands this—is predicated upon its decisions. The system of soviets—these "miniparliaments" at all levels—is obviously in crisis, and the decisions of the fourth congress have in fact continued the course initiated by the third congress. And if we think about this consistently and honestly, then it can be seen that this course is also leading to a dismantling of the system of self-management in the soviets and is now being replaced by presidential power and a strengthening of the state-executive structure.

I think that we cannot in fact get by without this today. But it is also already time to be thinking about how to place this power under the control of the people, and how to reconstitute the ordinary and effective structure of popular self-government.

First of all, it is essential that each citizen have a clear knowledge of what are the rights and needs he is entrusting when he votes for a deputy at the rayon level, and what he is transferring to a deputy in, say, a republic soviet. The mandates of the deputies in different soviets should not be equal. This is in order to prevent people from expecting that a USSR deputy should deliver pipelines or combines for his own village, or from demanding that a deputy from a rayon soviet devise some universal political concept.

But until the new relationship of powers in the country has been settled it decisions by the top authorities cannot be paralyzed "along the road."

I do not think that today it is worth stressing the president's new rights. It is more useful, both for him and for the country, to talk about his new obligations. I think in general the situation that has taken shape in our country, in human terms it would be more natural to avoid power and be afraid of assuming it oneself, for I fear that no solutions can be found that could equally satisfy everyone.

M.S. Gorbachev, however, has not started to erect the "lightning conductors" of structures intermediate between himself and the life of the country. I would hope that his courage will tell in this. Well, may God help him!

The second question considered paramount on the congress agenda is that of the Union treaty. But since the congress did not have the power to conclude a treaty, it was therefore just like an enormous all-Union conference. It is not the government or the legislature that will decide the fate of the Union, but the people. And I think that all those participating in today's political disputes need a sober approach so that their own perception about the opinion of the people does not become confused with the actual opinion of the people themselves.

The fate of the treaty depends on whether or not it will be able to include the main "indicator" of democracy, namely, a mechanism for safeguarding the rights of minorities.

As a Christian, I am extremely grieved that oblasts where Christians live together have become a zone of interethnic conflicts. For it should be clear to Christians that the highest, and indeed the only, absolute value in the world is the living human soul. For two thousand years the Church has been saying this: Think before you do anything to your neighbor, think about what the consequences of your action will be for him. Christ tells us we must forgive even our enemies. But a person who has simply been living alongside you for decades—how is he interfering in the way you live? Of what, exactly, is he guilty in your eyes?

Can it be that a Christian can forget that someone near and dear is only "sovereign?" Someone near and dear has within him a pole of all "rights," but in me there is a pole of all "obligations." Or is it that I have "rights" for my conscience? Before God? And does Christ teach me that some other person is to blame for all my misfortunes? And if not Christ, then who?

There is no such thing as a social order or a state or a nation that was created by God for Eternity. But people were created by the Creator for Eternity. And for this reason, where does a Christian find the scales on which the idea or principle of a temporary arrangement in society carries more weight than a living and eternal human soul?

I would like to remind you that the Church unites all who seek spiritual transfiguration along the road of Christ. Everyone. For us it would be impermissible to test those people who come to us on the subject of their political views. But it would be just as impermissible to split the unity of the Church on the basis of political or national preference.

The believers in my church include those who support the unity and indivisibility of our Union, and there are also those who believe that the proposed Union treaty will infringe on their rights. As a man, I can be close to one of these positions. But as a patriarch, as a pastor, the fate of everyone is equally dear and close to me. And I must answer to God for everyone; I must answer whether or not I pushed any one of them away from the Church, away from Christ.

The Apostle Paul testified in this way: "I am a debtor both to the Greeks and the barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise..." "And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew; to them that are under the law, as under the law. To the weak became I as weak. I am made all things to all men that I might by all means save some." (Romans 1:14; I Corinthians 9:19-22).

A man cannot be reduced to politics and nothing else. We have often heard the opinion that "religion is the opium of the people." But I say that very often politics is opium for a man. Intoxication with political activism, a craving to divide everyone into friends and enemies, an unrestrained desire to seek out and find guilty persons wherever it is convenient, but no guilt in oneself—all these things alienate a man from himself and interferes with his understanding and execution of his own true human calling on earth.

And for this reason, God forbid that we should see the emergence and proliferation of movements and parties that from the standpoint of their members participation automatically sets them on this side of a line drawn between good and evil and allows them to forget about simple human conscience. I would like to remind you that since the days when God was revealed to people, a moral sentence has been passed that stands above the habit of the state to deify itself, the habit of absolutizing its own interests and setting itself higher than God's court and human conscience. There is a God who made himself a sacrifice in order to save man, not a state; this means that the state is not divine.

But the 20th century has shown us (both in 1917 and subsequent years) how unjust deification of a people is. Neither national interests nor class interests can be above Truth.

It is in this kind of perspective that I would like to see the idea of perestroyka, and to express a wish for its continuance: In its ideology the state has been too free and easy in intruding into the life of the individual, and it must yield ground.

But the space that is vacated cannot be filled with emptiness and chaos. It must be filled with independent activity by the individual freed from enforced control but not freed from serving truth, good, and beauty.

While supporting today the strengthening of statehood, at the same time I hope that it will never again become totalitarian, that is, it will henceforth renounce claims to power over people's conscience.

I shall not appeal to people with the traditional calls for reconciliation and love of one's fellow-man. There have been enough such calls. But I do ask that those who consider themselves Christians consider and resolve this in the depths of their hearts: What does being a Christian mean today, in my own home?

These are the words I would have spoken at the congress. But it is probably for the better that I did not speak there. For in the storm of emotions that reigned at the congress whoever spoke next would have drowned out my words. It is not just I who need people to stop and think about what has been said. Rather, everyone needs it.

'Vzglyad' Solidarity Concert To Aid Bereaved

PM2201123391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jan 91 p 1

[Report from TASS and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents' roundup under general headline: "Have You Heard? Have You Read?"]

[Text] A concert and rally in solidarity with "Vzglyad" program journalists will be held today in the capital's "Druzhba" ["Friendship"] Palace of Sport. "Time Machine," "Architects," "DDT," Gradskiy, and others are to take part. The money will be donated individually to the families of those who died in Lithuania.

International Lottery To Help Chernobyl Victims

PM2201123191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Profit From International Lottery Will Go to Chernobyl Children"]

[Text] The USSR Government has adopted a decision to hold a "Children of Chernobyl" international lottery from this year.

The profit from the lottery will be channeled into additional funding for the measures envisaged in the state union republic program of urgent measures for 1990-1992 to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station, the information department of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has reported. Part of the profit will also go to resolve the medical and social problems of children and mothers who suffered as a result of the disaster, to construct and maintain health establishments and housing, to create production facilities geared to helping children and mothers, and to carry out various actions with the participation of Soviet and foreign state and public organizations.

Economic

50-, 100-Ruble Banknotes Withdrawn 23 Jan

LD2201192391 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Banknotes with the face value of 50 and 100 roubles will no longer be accepted for payment in the Soviet Union from January 23, and the withdrawal of cash from personal bank accounts will be limited to 500 roubles a month, according to the latest presidential decree, issued today.

The measure was taken "in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population, in order to step up the struggle against speculation, corruption, smuggling, counterfeiting, unearned incomes and to normalize money circulation and the consumer market," the decree says.

The banknotes will be exchanged for paper money of lower denominations and new 50 and 100 banknotes in keeping with regulations of the Cabinet of Ministers. [sentence as received]

People will be allowed to withdraw up to 500 roubles in cash from their accounts in savings and other banks.

Pavlov Explains Reason for Decree

LD2201235991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Interview with USSR Prime Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov by unidentified reporter on 22 January; place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Valentin Sergeyevich, I think that the text of the president's decree [on withdrawing 50- and 100-ruble (R) banknotes], about which our viewers have just heard, has probably given rise to anxiety in practically everyone. What is it? What is this? Is it a further, well, step to eliminate the monetary imbalance that has arisen in our economy, in our monetary affairs, or is it a step intended to encroach upon the interests of the buyers and citizens?

[Pavlov] I think that, clearly, everyone must absolutely realize that we are not trying, in the present instance, to confiscate money from the vast majority of our citizens in any way. After all, what is happening is that all banknotes with a face value of R50 and R100 are, without restriction, within the framework of the monthly wage, being immediately exchanged at the place of work or wherever people receive their pension or other income of a legal, as it were, nature. Additionally, then and there, accordingly they hand in what they have—that is, to their own collectives so as to explain the actual origin of that money. If you have a wage of R150 and you have come to change R150,000, then, naturally, a question will immediately arise.

This is half of the issue. The second half of the issue is the fact that, you know, these R50 and R100 banknotes are one of the major elements of the general shadow economy, because they sustain the circulation precisely in this sphere. And over one-third, you understand, over one-third, by and large, of the cash that the population has in hand is made up precisely of R50 and R100 notes. According to information from our banking institutions, they circulate very slowly. In other words, they return to the state twice as slowly as R10 and R25 notes.

[Reporter] In other words, just as they circulate in the shadow economy now, so they remain there?

[Pavlov] They circulate, but they do not come back to the state. That indicates that they act as a means of tender completely outside the state sector of the economy.

That is half of the issue. The second half of the issue is that these banknotes have started to be used very widely to undermine our trade through smuggling. According to various estimates—well, I will take the most average, optimal assessment—there are about R7 billion in these banknotes abroad.

Another aspect consists of limiting, during the current half- year, the issuing of cash to every saver to no more than R500 a month.

[Reporter] So what happens if I want to buy, let us say, a television or a car, large purchases?

[Pavlov] In that case, that gives rise to no questions, and there is no problem for ordinary citizens, since we are not limiting the funds that the citizen withdraws from his account for payment to the retail trade, because we grant him the right to pay for any purchase up to any amount in a cash-free form.

[Reporter] Incidentally, I think that many people, including specialists, are now worried by the following question: To what extent has the step been worked out in advance? What are the foreseeable consequences of the measure?

[Pavlov] I will tell you that we, generally speaking, prepared for this measure, as you yourself realize, not today and not yesterday. We have been arguing about the measure, preparing it, and weighing it from different points of view for almost a year now. Moreover, we have always said that economic measures are necessary—and not just administrative ones—to fight the shadow economy.

Procedure for Withdrawing Banknotes

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[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—The Soviet Cabinet of Ministers today issued a resolution determining a procedure for the withdrawal of 50- and 100-ruble banknotes from circulation.

It is reported in particular that enterprises and organisations must hand in the remaining such banknotes within three hours on January 23, 1991, to the appropriate banking institution where these sums will be put to the settlement account of the organisation after a check up under a procedure established by the State Bank of the USSR (Gosbank).

Working people will have the banknotes exchanged by a decision of commissions, which are being set up at enterprises and organisations, in amounts of average monthly earnings over the past year of work.

The exchange amount may not exced 1,000 rubles per worker. Pensioners will have their banknotes exchanged in amounts within 200 rubles or monthly pensions. A decision to exchange the banknotes in excess of the established limit shall be taken by commissions that are being set up for the purpose at district and city councils. Within ten days, the commissions shall decide to exchange or deny an exchange of banknotes on applications submitted by citizens on the strength of results of the consideration of the groundedness and legality of their sources of income.

There will be no exchange of banknotes that people will not hand in within three days, i.e. until January 26, 1991.

The main department of state customs control under the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has been instructed not to allow 50- and 100ruble Gosbank-issued banknotes of the 1961 pattern to be brought into the Soviet Union from January 23 to 25, 1991.

Foreign citizens will have their 50- and 100-ruble banknotes exchanged within the period of January 23 to 25, 1991, by institutions of the USSR Vnesheconombank or institutions of banks performing operations with foreign currency, in amounts stated by Vnescheconombank instituions' receipts received during the exchange of currency.

Foreign citizens who work in diplomatic, consular or other missions of foreign state in the USSR will have their 50- and 100 - ruble banknotes of the 1961 pattern exchanged through the main diplomatic corps service bureau under the USSR Foreign Ministry in accordance with a procedure coordinated with Gosbank.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers imposes a restriction on the issue of cash from people's deposits at the institutions of all banks for the first half of this year from January 23.

It has been established that the investor has the right to receive cash from his deposit in the institutions of the savings bank within a month in an amount of not more than 500 rubles only at the place of residence or work.

The investor retains the right to use the deposited funds in non- cash transactions without limit on amounts to buy goods and pay for services through the use of the pay

checks of the USSR savings bank and in the transfer of money from one deposit to another.

Soviet Exports Reportedly Shrink, Debts Increase

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[Article by Veniamin Simonov, head of department at the Market Research Institute of the Soviet Ministry for External Economic Relations: "Deeper in Debt"]

[Text] Historians have yet to divide the period of Soviet history known as perestroika into stages. But the first six months of 1989 can be considered as marking the beginning of a new phase, which could be described as the transition from the policy of "relying on one's own resources" to that of all-out the wooing of foreign investors.

It was at that time that an increasing chorus of voices in Parliament began to assert that repaying international debts was an obvious luxury. Nikolay Ryzhkov, the head of the Soviet government, tried to quell growing worries by saying publicly that "by world standards," Soviet servicing rates were quite heartening—although such factors are known to be volatile, differing widely from period to period and from country to country, so it would in fact be wrong to speak about any "standards" at all.

Rising Debts, Eroded Trust

The Soviet debt began to swell in recent years, rising marginally by 3.6 percent in 1988 and by a further alarming 18.6 percent in 1989. It would not be dangerous if trade with Western countries were stable. But it is no secret any longer that Soviet exports are rapidly shrinking (export revenues hardly suffice to repay interest). It is also widely known that since late 1989, for the first time in the history of its foreign economic dealings, the Soviet Union has been violating its debt commitments because of chronic shortages of hard currency. In the first nine months of 1990, Soviet exports to the Western industrialized countries grew by a mere 1.2 percent and imports rose by 2.1 percent, bringing the foreign-trade deficit to three billion roubles.

Even by "average world standards' any forecast would be fairly pessimistic: if the proportion between the foreign debt and export revenues exceeds 120-160 percent, the situation can be regarded as critical. In the case of the Soviet Union, the figure was 448 percent in 1987, 468 percent in 1988, 481 percent in 1989, and is still growing. As a result, since early this year, creditors' trust has dropped form 7.9 to 7.1 points, marring the Soviet Union's reputation as a debtor with an impeccable record.

Some creditors still mention the debts of pre-Commmunist Russia, "abolished" by the Bolshevik revolution but never written off by Western donors. For example, U.S. experts say that the Soviet debt to the United States, estimated at more than $1.5 billion, includes, apart from $675 million due for Lend-Lease supplies, almost $200 million borrowed by the Provisional Government in 1917.

Debt Spiral

By borrowing large sums of money from foreign donors, and considering the current economic and political instability in the Soviet Union and the embarrassing fall in exports, the USSR may ultimately plunge into a debt spiral. Servicing will require more and more fresh loans and old debts will lead to new ones.

In summer 1990, inspired by unification prospects, West Germany granted the Soviet Union a loan of three billion marks to back Soviet debt commitments to West German creditors. In September, Italy followed suit, lending the USSR about half a billion roubles, in an obvious attempt (according to the FINANCIAL TIMES to remain the second biggest Western trade partner of the Soviet Union after Germany. Italy's enthusiasm was obviously fuelled by prospects of concluding another "deal of the century" (following the construction in the '70s of the Lada car plant which was outdated even before its vehicles started to roll off the production lines): a factory to make low-consumption Panda cars.

The government of South Korea is studying the question of granting credits to the USSR for the sum of $2.3 billion. France has agreed to credits of $1 billion, and Spain $1.4 billion.

While in 1989 "USSR" and "financial aid" were still largely regarded as two incompatible notions, the European Community is at present working on a four-stage programme of economic aid to the Soviet Union. Stage One: the Soviet Union gets a $5 billion loan to stabilize its monetary system and pave the way for the rouble's convertibility. Stage Two: a package of measures is introduced within a period of four to five years to stabilize the balance of payments. Stage Three" Soviet mineral resources are developed on a multilateral basis. Stage Four: a programme for developing the infrastructure is launched.

The notion of "economic aid" is near the top of the bilateral economic agenda. Italy is ready to give the Soviet Union aid in the form of short-term loans worth a total of $2.5 billion (including $1 billion, without specifying the purposes, to support "the Soviet programme for economic stabilization" depending on parliamentary approval). In November 1990 the Soviet Union was also granted export credits (guaranteed by the

Italian government) worth a total of 1,000 billion lire to acquire Italian-made equipment for industrial modernization. The total sum granted amounts to 2,200 billion lire, and the question of a further $6 billion over the next 4-5 years has almost been settled.

A Third Way

Many Soviet economists and government officials pin their hopes on capital inflow from foreign sources, expected to come both in the form of loans and direct investments. Both academic quarters and practical managers seem to see foreign investment as a panacea against all the ills plaguing the Soviet economy.

The world of business is less optimistic. However, many Western European companies are prepared to invest directly on a large scale in Eastern Europe. A recent survey of 128 European firms with a turnover exceeding 1 billion dollars has indicated that they are willing to earmark a total of more than three billion dollars over the next five years, mostly for joint ventures. But the real number of potential investors is much greater. Nevertheless, in their plans, all the companies lay stress on Hungary and the former East Germany, whereas the Soviet Union, with its bottomless market, is still not on the agenda. The much more cautious business communities of Japan, the USA and Britain are increasingly having second thoughts. Why?

The biggest snag is the economic, political and even ideological instability in the USSR. Some Western analysts maintain that the Soviet Union is still uncertain and unable to make up its mind, looking for a "third way"—somewhere between state socialism and capitalism. Its East European neighbours have already dropped this futile search after playing with the idea for some time. As a result, the recent consultations between the IMF and the possibility of granting financial aid to the Soviet Union have led nowhere. Bankers need reliable clients. Hence there are virtually no real guarantees for foreign investors, as no one can be certain that all loans will be paid back and that direct investments will be duly protected against economic and political risks.

Indeed, it is hard to take the President's recent attempts at wooing foreign investments as a guarantee: the decrees have been inspired mainly by political winds, whereas those blowing across the Soviet Union for the past 73 years have produced nothing but regular climatic changes. The banks, merchant banks above all, which could become real guarantors of properties belonging to foreign private creditors and investors (not intergovernment credits guaranteed by the treasury), still depend entirely on state loan capital, no matter how much talk there is about market economics. It is thus self-deception to promise the safety of foreign investments under such conditions. Foreign partners will not be fooled easily.

It is also useless to talk about foreign capital in any form which there is still still no coherent programme explaining in what way this capital is to be used.

Soviet Debts to Western Creditors According to the Bank of International Accounts (Basle)
millions of dollars, gross

Date of info acquisition	Bank claims	Export credits	Total	Growth (as percentage)
June 1987	30,027	7,341	37,368	
Dec 1987	33,430	6,864	40,294	7.8
June 1988	34,100	4,955	39,055	-3.1
Dec 1988	36,864	4,888	41,752	6.9
June 1989	39,614	5,474	45,089	8.0
Dec 1989	44,499	5,032	49,532(1)	9.8

Source OECD.BIS Statistique sur l'endettement exterieur. P.-Bale (different issues)

(Footnote 1) Reuter, in a dispatch quoting Austrian sources, said the Soviet external debt totalled 52.4 billion dollars by late 1989.

Soviet Trade With Western Industrialized Nations

billions of dollars

Year	Exports	Growth as percentage	Imports	Growth as percentage	Balance
1987	9.0		8.8		0.2
1988	8.9	-1.1	9.9	12.5	-3.6
1989	10.3	15.7	12.9	30.3	-2.6

Estimated on the basis of data given in the USSR Yearly Foreign Trade Book (1987, 1989, 1990)

Timber Export Revenue Reportedly Declines

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[Article by Viktor Statiyev, senior researcher at the National Market Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of External Economic Relations: "Timber!"]

[Text] The timber industry accounts for nearly 3 percent of international trade, or close to 100 billion dollars. Timber trade has expanded slowly but steadily to an average of 3 percent a year. While there is obviously no niche in the market for any more standard items, demand for top-quality products—such as high- grade sawn timber, water-resistant large format plywood, bleached pulp, paper for printing and fine cardboard for packaging—remains high. The prevailing tendency in the business today is to lay greater stress on processing, with importers seeking only top- quality items and timber merchants usually preferring long-term buyer-seller arrangements.

Pot of Gold

The Soviet Union has over a fifth of the world's timber resources, including nearly half of the coniferous varieties which are commercially most viable and fit for industrial use. The Soviet Union is a long-standing leader in timber exports, earning 2.5 billion roubles

annually, the equivalent of 380 tons of gold by modern standards. Nearly every eighth cubic metre of timber is produced for export.

Both in terms of volume and value, about half of Soviet exportable timber is acquired by countries with market economies. The other half goes to Eastern Europe.

One of the major importers is Japan, which prefers unprocessed raw timber. Wood has been at the top of the export list for many years in dealings with Tokyo, earning Moscow more than 3[illegible]illion roubles a year. The second biggest importer is [illegible] UK, which spends more than 150 million roubles worth of hard currency annually on sawn timber and plywood. Finland, France, Italy and Germany each buy from 70 to 110 million roubles of such products per year. From 70 to 80 percent of hard currency earned on the Western timber market comes from raw and sawn timber.

In trade with the COMECON countries, more emphasis is laid on paper and pulp products, which account for up to 40 percent of exports. Another 30 percent of revenue, counted in former transferable roubles, comes from sawn timber, with raw timber accounting for 15-20 percent. The traditional buyers of Soviet timber are East Germany, as it was then called, and Hungary, both accounting annually for 250 million transferable roubles (a fictional currency unit recently abolished, used to evaluate trade between east-bloc countries)

Timber-Industry Blues

But all the soft roubles and hard dollars this obviously lucrative business has earned to date have failed to obscure the fact that Russian timber is no longer in such demand on the world market. Tsarist Russia (less Finland) accounted for a fifth of world trade in timber, whereas now its share has dropped to 6 percent in terms of volume and less than 4 percent in terms of value. In the '80s, export revnues grew at only half the rate of world timber prices, even though exports expanded faster than the market capacity.

The Soviet Union has long fallen behind its veteran rivals, such as Canada, the United States, Sweden and Finland. Several years ago, German timber exporters found a niche in the market. West Germany had forests which stretched over a territory smaller than that of Karelia, and yet it managed to earn 25 percent more hard currency on the world timber market than the Soviet Union. As a foreign-currency earner, timber is steadily losing its former significance, as its share in total foreign-exchange income has dropped from 10-12 percent to a marginal 3-4 percent.

More than two-thirds of the industry's export revenues are spent on imports of timber products and timber-processing equipment. This happens because of a number of obvious reasons, the most important being the inability to offer foreign importers more of the items they require, the poor quality of products, and inefficient and outdated trade practices. While exporting as much timber in physical volume as Sweden and Finland, the Soviet Union makes only half what its Nordic neighbours earn.

Unprocessed timber still accounts for half of Soviet exports. As a result, the Soviet Union increasingly finds itself in the role of a supplier of raw materials for the developed countries. Over the past decade, Soviet exports of unprocessed timber have increased by 6 million cubic metres while exports of semi-finished products and manufactured goods have grown by 3.5 million cubic metres in raw timber equivalent. The share of low-grade wood in total timber exports has climbed steeply. On the world market, the Soviets deal primarily in cheap lumber, unclassified sawn timber, packaging plywood of the lowest grade, and paper and cardboard which has little use in the sophisticated print and packaging industries. What appears especially disheartening are the increasing failures by exporters to meet their contractual obligations to provide the required volume of goods. Timber is usually sold six months or even a year in advance, an arrangement that spells trouble for the customer if the market situation changes.

Meanwhile, foreign companies characteristically offer only high-quality goods for sale on the world market. Canada and the United States are emerging as major suppliers of sawn timber for building, pulp, newsprint and conventional packaging cardboard. The Swedes and the Finns, who have sufficient stocks of top-quality but very expensive timber, have sought to climb to the head of the list of exporters of high-grade sawn timber of selected specification, excellent pulp paper for the print industry and the best varieties of packaging cardboard. The Nordic countries are building their strength on a combination of excellent primary products and sophisticated processing facilities, running some of the best-equipped plants in the world. The West Germans, with their limited forest reserves, export labour and technology as well as expensive technical and printing varieties of paper and cardboard.

Another Cinderella

The only way for Soviet exporters to compete in such conditions is to offer cheap prices. As a result, the Soviet Union earns 30-60 percent less than its principle competitors from transactions on the global timber market.

The Soviet timber industry is treated very much like a Cinderella alongside other needy industries. "The Russians do not love their forests," Vasily Klyuchevskiy, a 19th century historian, conceded grimly. The attitude to forests has hardly changed to this day. The industry has grown used to taking, and never gives anything in return either in investments or resources, something that leads to the degradation of domestic timber production and exports.

Premature felling and the lack of desire and skill to find a way of using enormous amounts of poor-quality timber have dramatically curtailed the business capabilities of the European North and Southern Siberia, the traditional export-oriented areas. While producers of exportable merchandise are denied funds and equipment, the

country is losing its chief competitive advantage—the fine quality of its wood.

Export-oriented timber processing has also been neglected. Enterprises are forced to work with equipment manufactured 20-30 years ago. The youngest timber-processing company in Ust-Llimsk was founded in 1972 and its chief facilities were commissioned a decade ago. At others, the pace of reconstruction has been too uncertain and slow. Most of the timber exporting industries use imported equipment. The numerous research divisions of the USSR Ministry of the Timber Industry have proved their total inability to develop new technologies or even borrow and introduce advanced foreign methods. The timber-carrying fleet is completely worn out.

The existing economic mechanism still lays great stress on gross output, and does not stimulate competitiveness or lower export costs.

There seems to be only one way to encourage economic initiative among enterprises and offer tangible incentives for improving the quality of exported timber. The embryonic free-market arrangements must undoubtedly be backed by powerful state leverage, widely employed in the timber industries of the market-economy countries. In the leading timber exporting areas of the world a significant share, if not the bulk of timber resources (Canada, the U.S. West and Third World countries), are in the hands of the state. In addition, the state intervenes briskly in relations between the leading timber procuring corporations, using all sorts of leverage, including credits, pricing investment and export programmes, taxes, and subsidies.

Compared to its rivals, the Soviet Union loses a potential 4 billion dollars annually on the world timber market. Half of these losses can be attributed to the irrational inability to export processed timber. The other half is due to poor quality, an inappropriate variety and outdated trading practices.

Timber and Dollars

The destitute enterprises of the timber industry are in need of a formidable list of equipment, ranging from rudimentary barking machines to sophisticated electronic systems for automatic control of technological processes. Such equipment is available only on the foreign market. The timber felling and processing factories are involved in dozens of joint projects with foreign companies.

In one of the most large-scale arrangements, the Doctus Corporation from the UK was offered to buy tree-felling rights in the Tomsk region of Siberia this Spring. When the deal was still in the making, the British company launched a large-scale advertising campaign in the press, thus securing a significant rise in its own share prices. But it will not be easy to deliver large quantities of timber from the almost inaccessible areas of Siberia, and the British side will obviously have to wait for years before the project starts to pay off.

The Soviet-Japanese joint venture Igirma-Tairiku is another example. The Japanese offered a pioneering technology for tree- felling developed by Tairiku in exchange for Angara pine, which is in high demand on the world marekt. The will of the partners, coupled with modest investments in hard currency, produced some tangible results quickly. Within a few months, an ultra-modern factory was built in the Irkutsk taiga to produce tens of thousands of cubic metres of high-quality timber. After years of stagnation, Soviet timber exports to Japan began to climb.

The Soviet side and the Japanese are also joining forces in a project to modernize the Soviet timber-carrying fleet. Freight charges for the transportation of round logs from the lower reaches of the Amur River of the island of Sakhalin to Japan fluctuate between 20-30 dollars per cubit meter. Thus the hard-currency costsof carrying timber can be offset within one-and-a-half or two years.

Until recently, the only timber trading company in the Soviet Union was the monopoly-oriented Exportles. Despite all the bottlenecks, the arrangement offered the advantage of presenting a coordinated policy to the export market. It is important that this advantage should not be wasted.

Timber accounts for about 10 percent of the natural raw materials use dby humanity. It is a strategically reliable area of capital investment that rewards skilled entrepreneurship.

Soviet Timber Exports

	Amount	Cost (million rubles)
Unprocessed timber, million cubic meters	19.5	695
Sawn timber, million cubic meters	7.8	818
Plywood and wooden, million cubic meters	1.0	170
Pulp, million tons	1.0	384
Paper and Cardboard, million tons	1.0	342
Furniture	—	40
Other	—	48

Main Timber Exporters in 1989 (percentage calculated as raw timber equivalent)

Countries	Raw Timber	Sawn Timber	Paper and Pulp Products	Other
USSR	46	30	18	6
Finland	3	20	70	7
Sweden	3	30	65	2
Canada	2	46	50	2

Agricultural

Decree on 1991 Livestock, Field Work Issued

914B0061A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted a decree on additional measures to organize the way wintering of livestock and spring field work are conducted in 1991.

It is proposed that the governments of the Union and autonomous republics and the executive committees of the kray, oblast, and rayon soviets of people's deputies ensure efficient operation by those who work with livestock on each farm and family farm and to increase their stake in the final results of production. The ministries and departments producing the means of production for the village are entrusted with organizing uninterrupted, timely delivery of the material and technical resources needed for animal husbandry.

The USSR Council of Ministers state commission for food and purchases, jointly with the governments of the Union republics, are called upon to provide kolkhozes [collective farms], sovkhozes [state farms], and other agricultural institutes with seeds and planting materials and to finish readying and bringing them to peak sowing conditions. It is planned to carry out additional measures to prepare the machine and tractor stock in a timely manner for spring field work and to use all the production capacity available in the agro-industrial complex for this. Stations should be created in each rural rayon for rental of tractors and other equipment to serve leaseholders, members of cooperatives, peasant (family) farms, and the private subsidiary plots of citizens.

The Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building, Ministry of Heavy Machine Building, Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry and Instrument Making, and Ministry of Metallurgy of the USSR, as well as the ministries of the defense sectors on industry are charged with organizing the 1991 production of equipment for raising poultry and horned cattle, incubators, water pumps, filter cartridges for tractor and combine engines, low- temperature refrigeration plants, and refrigerators.

The ministries and departments of the USSR producing material and technical equipment for the agro-industrial complex should guarantee delivery to villagers by 1 May 1991 of machines for fertilizing the soil with organic and commercial fertilizers and pesticides, tilling tractors, and tilling, seeding, and planting machines, as well as spare parts for them in an amount that is not less than 70 percent of the volume of deliveries stipulated for the first six months of 1991.

The Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry and the "Agrokhim" [agricultural chemicals] state association are charged with providing for production and delivery by 1 May 1991 of no less than 40 percent of the annual limits of polyethylene (in accordance with the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply orders) to enterprises that are manufacturers of polyethylene film for agriculture.

To provide for the uninterrupted functioning of enterprises and organizations of the agro-industrial complex, there are plans to allot hard currency in the first quarter of 1991 for purchases of packing, chemical, and other materials and products.

The decree also stipulates measures to provide agriculture with commercial fertilizers in the amounts and types that are needed to carry out nutritional spraying of winter crops for the 1991 harvest and to produce and quickly deliver to the countryside albumin, amino acids, vitamins, and other biologically active substances. And there are plans to deliver consumers no less than 60 percent of the indicated volumes of production in the first six months. The agro- industrial complex is being allotted additional materials and filtration equipment for family farms that raise livestock.

Stroyev on Harvest, Food, Imports

914B0059A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 11 Jan 91 p 2

[Report by V. Raskin on news conference by Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; place and date not given; published under the rubric "From the Press Center of the CPSU Central Committee": "There Is a Harvest! But Where Is the Food?"]

[Text] Even before the beginning of the news conference at the "Oktyabrskaya" hotel, our colleagues from other central newspapers, aware of the subject of the upcoming news conference with Ye.S. Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said with a certain amount of humor, "This meeting is made to order for SELSKAYA ZHIZN." However, at the news conference it turned out to be difficult to reach the microphone to ask our own homegrown, as they say, questions of interest to our readers. This indicates the timeliness of the news conference, the theme defined as "Our Daily Bread."

In his introductory remarks the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee offered a complete picture of the state of the food problem in the country. During meetings at the labor collectives, when the question of the difficult food situation comes up, said Yegor Semenovich, it usually takes the form of "How bad is it? Is there a way out? What is being done in this direction by the government, the economic organs, and the party Central Committee?" This was the subject of the talk with the journalists.

Before quoting the figures on the food situation in the country that were cited at the news conference, we will state that they were not new. At the fourth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president of the country already said how much grain had been harvested: Some 23 million tons more than in 1989. The figures for vegetables, potatoes, sugar beets, and fruits are a little worse. Now the journalists found out that on the whole, a total of 225 billion rubles [R] worth of goods were produced last year. The grain harvest was the largest in the entire history of our country—237-240 million tons. A total of 50-55 million tons of grain products are required to feed the country, and 90-100 million tons of grain are needed to raise livestock. A simple comparison of the aforementioned figures clearly shows, it would seem, that there is grain in the country. So why do such difficulties with food goods exist in our country? Is this not a paradox?

Information that made the rounds of our press in August and September may have given cause to talk that way. After all, then it was a question of the record grain harvest that had been grown: We were supposed to be harvesting about 300 million tons. As the journalists wrote, "There is a chance for abundance." But only one or two months passed, and the country was faced with the reality of empty shelves and endless coupons for which there are no goods. Why?

This is the situation that Ye.S. Stroyev tried to analyze in depth. If we look at that results of the last five-year plan as a whole, he noted, then we need to come to the conclusion that it was probably the most successful five-year plan in all the postwar years for the development of the country's agricultural complex. In terms of both rates and volumes of production. But it must also be noted that over the last two years the rates have begun to fall in several areas—from five or four percent to one or two. Negative indicators have even begun to appear in some places. All this, naturally, has had an effect on the provision of food. What is the solution? A program for the provision of food goods in 1991 has been worked out. A presidential edict is expected in the near future which will clear up the country's food situation to a great degree. Measures being undertaken to reorganize the structure of the administration of the agricultural complex should also have an effect.

An important role should also be played by agreements concluded between all the republics and the center concerning deliveries of all types of foods, including meat, milk, and grain, to the Union-republic fund. Measures are being undertaken to maintain provision of goods at the level of past years, and a certain portion of goods will be purchased abroad.

Participants at the news conference asked the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to detail the problem of humanitarian aid from abroad and about the problem of purchasing food abroad. It was explained that imports total several billion dollars. Some 1.4 million tons of meat and 12 million tons of milk will be purchased. But it is planned to buy less grain than last year. There will be reliance on wiser redistribution of the grain that we have produced. We need to develop horizontal ties between economic units to a greater degree. For example, one of the oblasts in Kazakhstan, having completely fulfilled the state order for grain, is now selling it to Siberian oblasts and is receiving timber from them in accordance with direct agreements. Such economic ties are mutually profitable.

Other examples of the development of horizontal ties were also cited at the news conference. The Baltic republics are showing initiative in this direction—they have a fairly solid base of livestock breeding. But they are interested in the grain that Kazakhstan or the southern Ukraine might give them.

Foreign correspondents, with the "meticulousness" peculiar to them, or else in an attempt to catch him out, tried to "elicit" whether the humanitarian aid of foreign countries was needed, how large it was, and whether the Soviet Union could get by without such aid. Yegor Semenovich cited figures giving a fairly clear picture of the aid being rendered. For example, as of 8 January 229,400 tons of goods had arrived from abroad [this figure corrected to 29,400 tons in referent article 914D0119]. Of this amount, food goods comprised 16,400 tons. Undoubtedly, this is an important humanitarian act by foreign countries and peoples. This is first and foremost a moral act. But inasmuch as the journalists were interested in facts, the following figure was offered: In one day Moscow consumes 23,000 tons of goods. And no outside help will be able to solve our problems—we need to increase the volume of our own agricultural production and eliminate the causes for the loss of goods while laying it in and storing it.

Managing to reach the microphone, we asked a question that appears every day on the pages of our newspaper. The subject was private ownership of land. We asked the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to express himself on that subject. Will the upcoming referendum on private ownership of land not provide a solution to the question as to the benefit of city dwellers, who are, naturally, in the majority?

Answering the question, Yegor Semenovich stressed first and foremost that the question of land is central for conducting economic reform in agriculture. To distribute it, sell it, give it away for free... Today the question is being widely discussed in these terms. The problem has been complicated by the decision of the Russian parliament has decreed—without waiting for the referendum—that land will be handed out for private ownership with the right to purchase and sell in the near future. And so legal and constitutional questions have arisen.

"How can I respond to the question?" said Ye.S. Stroyev. "As for the city dwellers who may vote in favor of private ownership of property, let us be realists. City dwellers do not need land for agricultural production.

They need it for gardens, places for dachas, and plots for growing vegetables and fruits. The peasant also needs personal plots adjoining the farm. In this instance the term private property is not so terrible. It already exists 'de facto,' so to say—these have been private for a long time. As for agricultural production as a whole, not only the peasants but the workers in the city too will understand of course that the question of property cannot be resolved all at once today. Why not?"

By way of illustration, an example from Uzbekistan was cited. Is it really possible to divide the land there? After all, each member of the population will only receive a bare scrap of land, so to speak. The birth rate is high. A new generation is growing up. Where will they get land from? As for Central Russia, there is enough land for any form of distribution you like. Today there is enough. But as for tomorrow, that is another question. Therefore a referendum has been approved to find out the opinion of the population of each republic separately and to decide on it.

Scientific

Mir Cosmonauts Prepare for Space Walk

LD2301083191 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 23 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow January 23 TASS— Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov, who have been working aboard the Mir space station for six weeks, are expected to venture into open space today. The opening of the hatch is scheduled for 13:50 Moscow time [1050 gmt]. The cosmonauts will be outside the station until 17:25 Moscow time, a mission control centre spokesman told TASS.

During this time, the crew are planning to assemble a telescopic transportation device on the exterior side of the Mir station, which is designed to move Sun batteries from the Kristall module to the Kvant module. If they have time, the cosmonauts will explore the ionosphere and magnetosphere of the Earth and will also make a video film of the Earth's surface.

The spacewalk will be the second venture outside the station by the eighth resident crew. Afanasyev and Manarov made the first spacewalk on January 7 to repair the exterior hatch of the Kvant-2 module. All in all, the cosmonauts are expected to carry out four space-walking ventures during their expedition.

Cosmonauts' work outside the station became a habitual matter for the space station's crews, caused above all by the need to service the giant space station.

The space station's fifth resident crew—Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov—tested a device for cosmonauts' movement in open space. Aleksandr Serebrov was the first to try the device in February 1990. The maximum possible distance from the escape hatch then amounted to 33 meters. Aleksandr Viktorenko, the commander of the crew, continued trials on February 5. He withdrew from the station to a distance of 45 meters.

Pilot-cosmonaut of the ussr Aleksey Leonov was the first man to walk into open space on March 18, 1965. Jean-Loup Chretien, a french astronaut, was the first member of the Mir station's international crew to venture into space in December 1988.

Salyut-7 Station Victim of 'Political Games'

PM2201164591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

[Report by S. Leskov: "'Salyut-7' Is Falling. No One Knows Where and When"]

[Text] The "Salyut-7" station is continuing its descent toward the planet. According to the latest information from the Flight Control Center, the station is expected to fall to earth within the period 2-12 February. The precise area can only be indicated a few hours before the event.

It appears from senior officials' explanations that nobody is to blame for the critical situation. The drastic change in the station's orbit has been produced, according to the official story, by the unpredictable upsurge in solar activity over the last three years.

Certain facts cause us to doubt this story. Following IZVESTIYA's publication of an article on events surrounding "Salyut-7" (this year's issue No. 6), V. Salnikov, who spent 25 years working at the USSR Council of Ministers Military-Industrial Commission, appealed to the editorial office. Vladislav Alekseyevich said that back in 1986 he had insisted on using up the fuel on board for the craft to land. Otherwise, as calculations showed, the station would commence an uncontrolled descent early in 1991. We would remind you that the forecast was made five years ago...

By the way, even now V. Salnikov's prompt forecast conflicts with official data. According to a "private" individual's prediction, the station will fall to earth 24 January. But it is obvious that, in the unforeseen situation, more meticulous calculations have been carried out at the Flight Control Center...

To be honest, references to the vagaries of the sun are reminiscent of our constant complaints about the bad weather that disrupts the harvest campaign every year...

"It is annoying to hear this tale about the unpredictability of solar activity over the last few years," S. Avdyushin, director of the Institute of Practical Geophysics, confirmed my doubts. "This upsurge is by no means a surprise, we issued warnings about it. 'Salyut-7's' trajectory was computed using a model that failed to take the increase in solar activity into consideration at a

time when a reliable model existed whereby the atmosphere 'expanded' during that period—as actually happened."

So, we are dealing with an unfortunate technical examination and mistrust of a specialist's opinion. All this is as old as the hills and would not merit another mention were it not for the fact that other extremely sensitive questions typical of our scientific management were not entangled in the subject of the uncontrolled station.

You get the impression that 'Salyut-7's' fate was in many respects determined not by technical expediency but by the political aspects of space exploration, on which public attention was focused. "Salyut-7" was, after all, in many respects sent off to the higher strata of the atmosphere to be mothballed because the new "Mir" orbital station "had" to be launched in 1985 in time for the latest party forum and there were not enough funds to commission two such major facilities. Is that not the reason why "Mir" went into orbit clearly unfinished, after being insultingly but justly dubbed a "space construction schedule overrun." It was a pity to "scupper" the operational "Salyut-7" straightaway.

The political games in space exploration did not begin today. "Salyut-7" has experienced them in full measure since its inception. Let us ponder the following question: How did a three-tonne incombustible module, which also presents the main threat in the descent, end up in the "Kosmos-1686" freighter docked to the station? Why could this freighter not have been undocked from the station and, while there was still fuel in the tanks, "brought down" in the assigned area? It transpires that undocking was only possible mechanically in this case, using cosmonauts, and the last crew had left the station hastily in November 1985 due to the worsening of V. Vasyutin's illness, overlooked by medical personnel on earth. (Incidentally, the subsequent flight by the female crew—Savitskaya, Ivanova, and Dobrokvashina—was thwarted as a result).

The clue to this lies in the sixties, when three outstanding chief designers—Korolev, Glushko, and Chelomey—fought implacably for their space programs to be given priority. All three were complex, unyielding men. They valued their designs but funds allowed them to implement only one program. The chief designers tried to enlist support at the very top and the outcome of the technical disputes within this "triumvirate" was often determined not by scientific expediency but by political leaders' sympathies. The favor of not even Khrushchev, Brezhnev, or Ustinov, but of a totally forgotten Central Committee instructor could determine the prospects for the development of the highly complex sector for years ahead. It would be instructive to trace how drastically space program funding changed depending on reshuffles within the party and state elite.

All these rapid changes could simply not help but take their toll on the particularly prestigious work on orbital stations. This series of several stations received the single name "Salyut," but, strange as it may seem, it had more than one owner—two at once. Some of the stations were designed at Korelev's design bureau (later Glushko's) and some at Chelomey's design bureau. The stations differed greatly from one another but were given the same name to ensure that our wily enemy got lost in our space industry's blind allies. Every design bureau naturally developed transporters in addition to the station, which had to serve their stations and had their own docking ports.

A great deal of the work was in vain, due to a partial change in the political winds. For instance, no more and no less than eight transporters, manufactured to serve their station, stood in the Chelomey Design Bureau "hangars" for 15 years. They were distinguished by a reentry vehicle with a heat shield carrying a payload of 300 kg (that is a dream even today). This was the prototype of the modules currently docked at the "Mir" orbital complex. But no one wanted to exploit their rivals' achievements, holding back the logical development of space exploration. It was only in 1985 that Chelomey's ship, "Kosmos 1686," blasted off and docked with "Salyut-7." According to plan, V. Vasyutin's crew should have undocked the apparatus from "Salyut-7" in January 1986 but, as we recall, the cosmonauts urgently returned to earth on physicians' orders. As a result not only was the unique apparatus on board "Kosmos" not even tried out, but the incombustible module devised for noble purposes may literally cause a considerable stir in its descent now.

I am quite convinced that the story of the development and commissioning of the "Salyut-7" station is far more dramatic than its impending fall to earth. There is a tremendous likelihood that the reentry vehicle will fall into the desert. The problem resides elsewhere. In today's contradictory situation as regards space exploration, the cost of every thoughtless step that may harm its reputation is rising sharply. "Salyut-7" has not merely brought with it the burden of old mistakes, but has also generated new ones. Let us hope that the lesson will be beneficial. But where is the guarantee that seeds of similar conflicts with far more considerable consequences are not ripening in the heart of space exploration today? You once again reflect on the need to develop a single coordinating center like NASA in our space industry.

Military

Political Potential of Warsaw Pact Viewed

LD2201174191 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Commentary by Radio Moscow commentator Aleksandr Shakhin]

[Text] On Monday the foreign ministers of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland met in Budapest to call for

disbanding the Warsaw Treaty organization. Radio Moscow's commentator, Aleksandr Shakhin, now considers whether the Warsaw Treaty organization can have a future.

Hungary's Defense Minister Fur has said that at the moment nobody threatens Hungary. This is very important. We live in a world that has changed dramatically. For more than 40 years the Warsaw Treaty organization and NATO confronted each other and peoples lived in a troubled climate of fear and mutual suspicion. Now the senior officials of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have stated that their countries no longer see each other as rivals. Nobody is threatening anyone. At this point I must recall that the Soviet Union and its foreign policy have made a tangible contribution to bringing this about.

As a military organization the Warsaw Treaty is irrelevant. In that sense the statement by the three foreign ministes in Budapest is consonant with our time. The Warsaw Treaty organization has been falling apart rather quickly. By the middle of the year the last Soviet soldiers will have left Hungary and Czechoslovakia and it will be the turn of Soviet troops contingents in Poland and Germany to return home. The leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries have already agreed to eliminate the military organization. This is a natural process, however one of the participants in the Budapest meeting, Hungarian Foreign Minister Jeszenszky, said it is important that such steps must be taken with the Soviet Union's consent and in full understanding.

I believe that this statement deserves attention. In my opinion the Warsaw Treaty will retain its political role for the time being. It is very likely that the structure and activities will be determined by bilateral agreements. Nobody threatens anyone, that's true, but that does not mean that armed forces will be disbanded altogether. One shouldn't think that once it has proclaimed the end of the cold war Europe has rid itself of the causes of conflict. Old time stereotypes live one. In this world there still are separatism, nationalism and territorial claims. If that is soberly taken into account it will become clear that as a political alliance the Warsaw Treaty has not exhausted its potential yet.

Peacetime Troop Casualties Investigated

91UM0277A Moscow TRUD in Russian
17 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation, by TRUD correspondent V. Badurkin; place and date not given: "When Verified, It Was Confirmed..."]

[Text] Yesterday, a special commission to verify the objectivity and completeness of the investigation into the causes of servicemen's deaths and military construction personnel in peacetime, set up by a decree of the USSR president dated 15 November 1990, completed its work. TRUD correspondent V. Badurkin talked to the head of the commission, Yu. Kalmykov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Legislation.

[Badurkin] Yuriy Khamzatovich, more than 2,000 widows and parents of soldiers who died have visited the waiting room of your commission during these two months. We happened to hear from some of them that the commission's creation is a mere formality and a pretense of responding to the tears and demands of the mothers of soldiers...

[Kalmykov] I was also reproached in this manner several times. I believe that we may and should understand these women. They have decided that we should specifically address all petitions and make decisions satisfactory to them on all of the petitions. However, first, not all of the complaints are confirmed in the course of verification. Second, and this is the main point, we are not in a position to review them all. This is why we selected for verification 107 criminal cases initiated in conjunction with the deaths of servicemen.

However, verifying specific petitions was an important but far from the only task of our commission. The main task was to develop recommendations aimed at preventing deaths and injuries of servicemen, from this point of view to improve the operation of the organs of military administrations and law-enforcement organs, and to streamline legislation which ensures the rights of citizens in military service. I believe that the commission accomplished this task.

[Badurkin] The conclusions of any commission depend to a considerable degree on its composition or, more precisely, the degree of professionalism and objectivity of its members. By all signs, an absolute majority of the parents of soldiers have confidence in your commission.

[Kalmykov] This is natural. After all, fathers or mothers of soldiers who died, independent lawyers recommended by them, attorneys, representatives of the military procurator's office and the USSR Procuracy were members of every one of the 10 working groups set up by us. These groups were headed by people's deputies. Incidentally, we accommodated the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and included in the commission the Russian deputies proposed by it. Therefore, the competence and objectivity of the commission were beyond any doubt.

[Badurkin] Both the commission and our editorial office receive letters from the mothers of soldiers with complaints about the operation of the Main Military Procuracy. Are their petitions well-founded?

[Kalmykov] Not all of the 107 cases requested by us have been verified. However, I will say frankly that the analysis of the cases "already handled" is depressing. Some of our groups saw fit to refer up to four out of every five cases for additional investigation and reclassification of charges, (incidentally, military lawyers agreed to

this). In all honesty, I did not expect to see this number of rejects in the work of the organs of the military procuracy.

People's deputies from the Committee for Legal Order and Crime Control were also involved, along with us, in verifying the operation of the military procuracy. Together with them, we arrived at the unanimous conclusion that the military procuracy works poorly. Even investigations of cases with a lethal outcome are frequently conducted in a superficial and negligent manner, especially at the first, inquest stage.

[Badurkin] I do not find this surprising at all. After all, the unit commander heads the inquest. He also appoints, by order, inquest officials, as a rule from among junior officers who have neither necessary legal knowledge or the practical expertise of investigative work. Besides, the system of evaluating the performance of commanders at all levels, which exists in our Armed Forces, does not at all promote the revelation and careful investigation of all violations of the law.

[Kalmykov] As we see it, it is necessary to reinforce the legal and organizational guarantees of the independence of military procuracies and tribunals from the establishments they serve to make their operation more effective. At present, the number and structure of the military law enforcement organs depend on the consent of military establishments, the entire procedural independence of these organs notwithstanding.

The state of affairs calls for improving the procurators' supervision over compliance with the law by the military organs and numerous management echelons of the USSR Ministry of Defense, USSR KGB and USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops, railroad troops of the USSR Ministry of Transportation Construction, and others, including in the sphere of protecting the health and lives of servicemen and military construction personnel. However, the cadre situation of a small military procuracy forces the concentration of attention and resources mainly on current criminal cases, given the increasing crime rate.

With the authorized strength of operations officers being 3,144 (1,947 procuracy employees and 1,197 investigators), the military procuracy is understaffed by 242 people (20 percent of the investigative staff). An almost equal number (230) have been appointed to positions on the basis of drafting persons subject to two years military service obligation from the reserves. This cadre situation, on top of a lack of professionalism and an actual lack of objectivity by the inquest organs, to a considerable degree accounts for mistakes at the initial stage of the investigations of criminal cases verified by the commission. On many occasions these investigations were resumed by procurators on the basis of letters from the mothers of soldiers.

To my mind, it is necessary to resolve the issue of the fitness of some leaders of the Main Military Procuracy for the service positions held.

[Badurkin] Your commission was formed pursuant to a decree of the president of our country. However, as far as I know, objective statistics on the violations of law in our Armed Forces were not given even to its members...

[Kalmykov] The Ministry of Defense believes that it is impermissible to declassify absolute statistics on the strength of the Armed Forces and the data in question, the practices of other countries being one of its arguments. These arguments may be taken into account with regard to the Armed Forces, but with regard to the border guard, internal, railway, and military construction troops they are unsound. Meanwhile, the public release of genuine data would have promoted the improvement of public opinion of the Army, a balanced approach to the choice of measures for preventing tragic accidents, and an increase in the responsibility of structures and officials called upon to ensure the protection of the health and lives of servicemen and military construction personnel.

The available information makes it possible to characterize the picture of causes of death during military service which has emerged recently (in terms of the average number of deaths per year) as follows:
As a result of ordinary disease—21.5 percent
As a result of suicide—18.5 percent
Due to violations of safety rules in training, work, and daily activities—17 percent
In motor vehicle accidents (through the fault of both military drivers and other participants in traffic)—15 percent
Consequences of murders and other premeditated crimes—5.5 percent
Murder by reason of non-regulation relations—2.3 percent
Due to violating rules for handling weapons and other non- premeditated crimes, except motor vehicle accidents—9.5 percent
As a result of other accidents—13.2 percent

Each of these causes is unfavorably affected by various factors calling for coordinated counteraction. However, to this day there has been no in-house or interdepartmental organ for analyzing the problem comprehensively or at least for aggregate reporting on human losses. This would be helpful for prevention and for monitoring the timely and well-grounded payment of the established compensation.

[Badurkin] However, for now compensation is mentioned only in the president's decree. Recently, one of the specialists charged with resolving this issue informed the editorial office that "the issue calls for additional study..."

[Kalmykov] I believe the development of proposals associated with the payment of compensation and the granting of preferences to the families of servicemen and military construction personnel who died in military service in peacetime to be one of the most significant results of the work of our commission.

[Badurkin] Could you outline some specific proposals of the commission?

[Kalmykov] There are very many of them, from an entry in the certificate of death to the effect that "it occurred during service in the military." This is important in principle in the opinion of the parents (we agree with them), to various everyday preferences. In short, the essence is to equate in terms of preferences parents whose children died in the Army in peacetime with those who lost their children in Afghanistan.

[Badurkin] As practice shows, the distance between proposals and the adoption of corresponding resolutions is measured in more than just months...

[Kalmykov] I think that this time there will not be a "go-stop- go." First of all, I am aware of the attention the president pays to this issue. It is to him precisely that I will submit our proposals within days. Secondly, I personally head the parliamentary committee instructed to work on this. This is why I believe that these issues will be solved at the fifth session of the Supreme Soviet of the country.

[Badurkin] Therefore, the commission has completed its work. However, in essence, the verification of complaints by the mothers of soldiers has just begun. Who will handle this in the future?

[Kalmykov] The activities of our commission were temporary, whereas the issues touched upon in the presidential decree are of a long-term nature; they frequently call for special training and paid professional work. What we have started cannot be abandoned without a referral for execution. This is why it is expedient to set up a special subdivision affiliated with the Cabinet of Ministers and reporting to the apparatus of the USSR president.

Alternative Uses for Krasnoyarsk Site Suggested

91UM0278A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 15 Jan 91 p 2

["Readers' Letters in Response to RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA Article Published on 9 October: 'Hitting a Secret Installation With a Sledgehammer'"—RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA headline]

[Text] *At the time of publication of Military Observer N. Panyukov's letter "Hitting a Secret Installation With a Sledgehammer," which described the "sad fate" of the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station, the editors expressed their willingness to bring proposals for a sensible use of its "remains" out for public discussion. We feel that this topic has touched our readers deeply. We have already received over a 100 letters. We offer some of them to our readers today.*

STOP IF IT IS NOT TOO LATE

In my line of service, I have been involved in things related to radars for many years. Therefore, it is especially painful for me to read that, because of elementary illiteracy, such horrendous things are being done. Really, it is as they say: There is no limit to human stupidity while its mind is limited. What is it that scared the Americans so much in the Krasnoyarsk radar that our politicians did not have any choice other than to destroy it?

Do we not have enough highly qualified specialists in our country to help the politicians prove to the Americans—currently our friends—that this "secret object," as well as any other radar station, may be used for purposes that are not necessarily of a military nature? This is an irreplaceable base for space, geophysical, astronomical, and many other types of research. Meanwhile, we, without studying the situation in detail, rush to grab the sledgehammer and crush an object into which hundreds of millions of people's money was invested, and which has expensive equipment integrated in it....

[Signed] V. Matsoshev, Moscow

WHY ARE AMERICANS AFRAID OF US?

Quite possibly, our politicians had been counting on reciprocity. That the Americans would dismantle or mothball their radar stations, at least on the foreign territories—in Greenland and in Great Britain. After all, this is also an ABM treaty violation. Alas! Nothing happened. All American radars continue to operate.

I agree with that 75-years old taiga inhabitant and war veteran, Roman Yegorovich Nebylitsa, who had proposed to turn this radar station into a retransmission station. Perhaps, it can be put to some other use. We should not destroy it, though....

[Signed] V. Formanchuk, Moscow

TO GIVE THE SETTLEMENT TO THE PEOPLE

I am shaken by what is going on. This is not just a dismantling of a radar station, it is a crime. By profession I am a construction engineer. That is probably why I feel this pain.

I propose that we stop demolishing the structures and conduct negotiations, for instance, with the people who live in the Chernobyl catastrophe area. I am convinced that many will agree to move there. Perhaps from other regions as well. If there is good land there, grazing land, mellifluous meadows for bee-keeping, or fish.... Why not live there? There will always be work for people.

[Signed] V. Nyavnyko, Skulyany settlement, SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Moldova

PERHAPS WE SHOULD PUT UP A CAPITAL THERE

Judging by your publication, the area where this "miracle on the Yenisey high road" is located is beautiful. And it seems that the settlement is quite modern. With high-rise buildings and comfortable apartments. It is Yenisey, after all. It is Russia itself.

Perhaps, we should start building a new capital of Siberia there?

[Signed] S. Polyakova, Moscow

WHAT ELSE ARE WE GOING TO DEMOLISH?

I cannot understand: Is it not known to everybody that the radar station by itself does not kill anybody and does not present any threat to other countries? In this sense, Krasnoyarsk Radar Station has nothing to do with anything. It is another matter that its disappearance will make foreign airplanes and missiles invisible to us, and that it strikes another noticeable blow at our already weak economy.

It is easier to demolish that to build.

[Signed] P. Kulibaba, Pyatigorsk

WITH THE 'SLEDGEHAMMER'...AT THE FATHERLAND

The problem is that today it is not just the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station on which they use the sledgehammer. They also strike the monuments to V.I. Lenin, F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, and S.M. Kirov. These sledgehammers are being used both here and in East Europe. Various turncoats also use the moral "sledgehammer" to strike at our Army, the KGB, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs].... They do not give a damn that our security is hurt by this.

Now they have also hit the Warsaw Pact with a "baby sledgehammer." They demand that we close our test sites while the tests in Nevada continue.... But what about our national security?

[Signed] A. Kutin, worker, Leningrad

LET THIS BECOME AN INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

I remember how impressed I was when I saw a photo of the Krasnoyarsk Radar Station published in a newspaper a year or two ago. I remember thinking: Here is such an expensive, electronic, modern miracle, and it has to be sacrificed for military needs that do not yield any profit for people's economy.

Now it seems there is no military need for Krasnoyarsk Radar Station. Good. But why demolish it? I propose—perhaps, with the participation of foreign experts, as you have mentioned in the postface—to use this grandiose complex to set up a center for UFO observation and research. Then, perhaps, we will figure out jointly who these "strange guests" are and what they want? Perhaps, it will also help us solve our numerous earthly problems. Perhaps, fate itself presents the "Krasnoyarsk object" with such unique chance. Let us think about it.

[Signed] Yu. Yefstafyev, Leningrad

We thank all our readers who responded to the publication, and invite everybody to continue this discussion, to offer more suggestions. They will be analyzed by a group of specialists who will meet here at our editorial offices in the near future to discuss this important problem.

Our telephone number is 257-25-20.

[Signed] **RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA military section**

Baltic Republics

Lithuania

Gorbachev Meets With Lithuanian Intellectuals

LD2201120291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent V. Matisauskas in Moscow]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] A group of Lithuanian intellectuals who are former deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Professor Smailys, the actor Adomaitis, and the composer Laurusas, had a meeting with Gorbachev last night.

According to what Professor Smailys told me after the meeting, it lasted about an hour and a half; Gorbachev was alone, without advisers, and treated them to tea.

Concerning more details about this meeting, Professor Smailys asked not to make these widely known. Probably this was a rather confidential conversation. We shall wait until they themselves tell us all about it.

The deputies have now gone to see Marshal Akhromeyev and have not yet returned from this meeting. [passage omitted]

Many people are phoning here from Lithuania asking about the rumors spreading in Lithuania that tanks have been deployed at the Kremlin. We made inquiries through our channels and we were told that obviously there are no tanks at the Kremlin. Probably the rumors are unfounded. [passage omitted]

Canada Suspends Food Aid Due to Baltic Events

LD2201115291 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Before today's plenary session of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Council, Audrius Azubalis, the Supreme Council press spokeman, informed journalists during the morning briefing that last night the Canadian Parliament decided to suspend the supply of food aid to the Soviet Union. This was announced by Canadian Foreign Minister Clarke. It also planned to recall a great part of its credits to the Soviet Union. This decision was explained in a letter by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to USSR President Gorbachev. He pointed out that the situation in the Baltic countries will affect relations between Canada and the Soviet Union.

By the way, the Canadian consul general in Leningrad is expected here in Vilnius.

And finally, Swedish legislators have been granted visas. It is thought that they will arrive in Vilnius tomorrow morning.

Kravtsev, the USSR deputy procurator general, might also visit Vilnius.

Lithuania's Kuzmickas in Washington for Talks

LD2201125791 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[From the "Lithuania Today" program]

[Text] Bronislovas Kusmickas, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, has arrived in Washington.

He will urge U.S. Secretary of State James Baker to take measures against military actions in Lithuania and Latvia. B. Kuzmickas is to meet James Baker today.

B. Kuzmickas said at a news conference that the West should now go over from words to deeds because events in the Baltic states are acquiring international importance.

Landsbergis Addresses Supreme Council 22 Jan

LD2201130391 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 0810 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Statement by Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] Good morning, esteemed colleagues. I am going to share my thoughts about how our situation is seen in the world, around us, and how we ourselves see some of our problems.

We know a little about it. We are receiving telephone messages that the world press is full of reports about the situation in Lithuania. Thus we know that everything that has happened and is happening in Lithuania is an important factor in East-West relations. We know that earlier, beginning last March and even earlier, Soviet propaganda was attempting to present the desire of Lithunia and the other Baltic states to regain statehood and independence as a factor of change in the world order that could even hamper good relations among the great states, and thus Soviet propaganda was skillfully and cleverly implying that the Baltic problem was not so very important, that there were more important matters, that this was such a local matter, whereas there were global problems which would be better solved by the great states if those small ones did not create new problems. Of course, this meant that our case was buried to some extent; there were attempts to bury our case. They did not succeed, and now people understand that problems much more important than the fate of the people are being solved in Lithuania and the Baltic states.

It is certainly real progress when democratic countries and international organizations react specifically to the Soviet Union's coercion of and attack on Lithuania, and now in Latvia. Notes, ambassdors being summoned, stern statements—even if they are the sternest ever—these will certainly be ineffective because the Soviet

Union is accustomed to behaving like that cat in Krylov's fable which, although being reprimanded, is listening but continues to eat what it has stolen. [passage omitted] Of course, the propaganda in the Soviet Union will face the task of neutralizing such steps by the West to halt aid, or not reporting it, or reporting it in a distorted manner. Of course, it will be important to us whether the Soviet people somewhere in Russia or in other places will grasp the policy of the present Soviet leadership. The policy in the Baltic states, for instance, dealt a blow which brings misfortune not only to people in those countries but also harms the residents of the Soviet Union. It will be explained to them that imperialists are supporting some of their agents in the Baltic states, struggling against socialism, against the indivisible Soviet Union. Of course, we are going to see such propaganda. [passage omitted] It seems that this time, world public opinion will not remain indifferent to the sort of deception that used to take place in the cases of such murders. [passage omitted]

The examination of our problem by international organizations and state authorities is taking place with the active participation of Lithuania's representatives, our permanent diplomatic representatives, and those of our colleagues who are abroad. Algirdas Saudargas had a conversation in Bonn with Foreign Minister Genscher. Today he is in Brussels, then he goes to Oslo for a special conference of the Helsinki process which will discuss the situation in Lithuania, the Soviet Union's actions, and the attack on Lithuania. Bronislovas Kuzmickas is in the United States. Today he has a meeting [words indistinct], Secretary of State Baker, and also with Congress committees and other officials. Then he goes to Canada to meet with the Canadian Government which, as we have seen, has taken specific political action. [passage omitted] Our colleagues, Deputies Okincicas and Zingeris, are also active abroad. [passage omitted]

Important events have also recently taken place and are taking place in Moscow, in Moscow which is gradually becoming not a tool of a hostile force but the capital of the legislature of Russia which is friendly and which is supporting us. That legislature examined yesterday the problem of Lithuania and today, during the extraordinary session, it will conduct negotiations on the final text of the Lithuanian-Russian political treaty. Our delegation is in Moscow and is working. The results will be known to us this evening. Our seven deputies are in Moscow, so if we have to take a vote, I would ask everyone to be in the hall so that there are no quorum problems.

All I can tell you of the attitude of the central political leadership in Moscow is that there will probably be some form of a proposal to us to continue the problems of negotiations or the so- called negotiations without restoring what has been seized in Lithuania, without identifying the instigators of the crime. In other words, maybe we will be forced to accept everything that has been done, although I have stated in this connection that the other side should take steps to withdraw the Army, to return the buildings, and to identify the culprits.

Maybe we will be forced to behave as if nothing has happened, as if it is possible to seize new positions, buildings, kill people and regard all of this as a subject of negotiations in some official talks by the two sides. Undoubtedly, we will experience pressure to remain silent, to not protest, to not attempt to deceive anyone, lest we will be accused of some inflexibility, rudeness, and so forth, while the other side will strive to present itself as the supporter of peaceful (?negotiations). I have already stated very simply: negotiations with a pistol at one's head are not negotiations in a civilized world.

But we are most likely going to face this problem. Maybe attempts will be made to divide our legislature and provoke different opinions on compliance or hushing up. The acknowledgement that nothing can be done about what has been seized, one must be reconciled to it.

I am predicting these steps because if there are not direct armed attacks, the main efforts will be destructive so that our most important weapons which we display in the face of danger—cohesion, organization, unity for the sake of what is most important—will be shaken loose and [word indistinct].

A new factor in the situation in Lithuania and in relations with the Soviet Union will be the arrival in Lithuania of the USSR deputy procurator general, a person of higher rank than the deputy sent previously. We have heard complaints by this USSR deputy procurator general that Lithuania's institutions ae not supplying him directly with information about the events and proposes to cooperate with the Lithuanian procurator general because information is being supplied to our procurator general. The main investigation and the main collection of information are taking place there.

Of course, the institutions are behaving correctly. We are dealing at the state level, and our institutions should not cooperate thus with the Soviet Union's supreme legal institutions because they then would be recognizing its right to make demands for direct information. Cooperation at the level of both procuracies is completely different and can be useful. I believe that our Procuracy should begin proceedings about the violation of property in the seizure of buildings. Of course, this includes the destruction of property and also the return of property to our republic. This is a problem which, if its solution is delayed, should be raised on the international level as a fact of international plundering and seizure. This is not just the main matter of the attack on and the injury and killing of people, but also the seizure of property and the suppression of freedom of publicity and information which are obvious. This concerns the Press House too.

I would like to urge the deputies not to neglect the work which has been started. We will most likely hear some more specific information from Deputy Rubeika, but already yesterday we should have formed a deputies' commission to inspect the funds and to begin taking over

everything that does not belong to soldiers or to some anonymous imposters. I would urge you to do this today.

We may expect in Lithuania some political actions by the force that wants to break us, to compel us to adopt an attitude of obedience including toward the Union treaty or something like this, and to accept some military control in Lithuania. We see that the real source of tension in Lithuania is the intimidation of the servicemen and their families residing here. I have already mentioned that this is being done by the force which wishes us ill and which makes use of certain experiences of these people for this purpose. I think I can state boldly that we differentiate between servicemen. There are those who reside here permanently, who have the right to vote in accordance with the citizenship law, and who take part in all citizens' processes, and their families. This is one sort. Another is the soldiers on compulsory service, the same as our young men who have been rounded up or who have agreed to serve in the Soviet Army and are serving somewhere. But the punitive units, the murderers are a different matter. Some of them have been withdrawn, but some have been replaced by an additional invasion army, the interior army, whose introduction is justified by the events, unrest, dangers, although the same political force created everywhere and in Lithuania, is attempting to create and is creating those dangers by taking the people's lives. Then it is claimed that objectively there is a threat, and the interior army is essential for this purpose.

We are going to demand, and are demanding, that the additional army be withdrawn, and that the present army be treated differently. We have already spoken and the striving [words indistinct] by a state treaty. We want our people to grasp this, and we want this attitude to reach the Soviet Army soldiers and members of their families who are, I must say, directly terrorized, but not by the side that depictions to the Soviet people show, but are terrorized by the secret services and the headquarters of propaganda war.

We must see this danger. The people who are planning such actions have been here since before 13 January. Later we saw them in Riga. They have no moral scruples about using any means of provocation. It is from the side of these planners, probably, that the only threat to the families of officers residing in Lithuania may come. We are going to have very few opportunities to show who has committed some crimes, which they will attempt to attribute to us. You know about this rumor, news, or justification that allegedly a woman has been harmed. She was harmed by the entire Ministry of Internal Affairs, which should be attacked and destroyed. [passage omitted]

We should not be surprised if pseudo-documents with pseudo- signatures appear in which we are discredited and accused in various respects and attempts are made to revive a virus of suspicion. [passage indistinct] The prestige of the legislature is high at present in Lithuania. The people trust us. Others will strive to undermine this trust. [passage omitted]

We must not forget that there is the main front line. It is not in our society, not in the legislature, but higher and further, between two states, one large and one small. Only by understanding this does the small state have an opportunity to defend its right to be an independent state. Thank you.

22 Jan Council Session Detailed

LD2201111591

[Editorial Report] Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian at 0800 GMT on 22 January carries a relay from the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius, chaired by Deputy Zenonas Juknevicius. The announcer reads messages of support for Lithuania and condemning antidemocratic actions by forces hostile to the republic.

At 0805 GMT, Deputy Juknevicius opens the session. The agenda including the examination of routine laws and their amendments.

At 0810 GMT, Landsbergis makes a statement on the situation and is questioned about Tarazevich's mission.

Prime Minister Vagnorius then reports on draft amendments to the law of state enterprises.

At 0900 GMT, debate begins on the amendments to the law. Deputies vote on the amendments to the law, which are adopted by a majority. An amendment is adopted to the decree of the Supreme Council which allows the government to make a decision on which enterprises should be numbered as special; that is, which will have no market for their output.

Amendments to the government law are also discussed. These involve changes in the structure of management of government affairs and the introduction of a post of a minister without portfolio. In the debate some deputies oppose the idea of expanding the government apparatus, which is already overstaffed in their view.

At 0957 GMT, after a short break in reception, debate on the reorganization of the government apparatus is in progress. A vote taken on the amendment to the government law and the amendments are adopted by a majority.

At 0959 GMT, Landsbergis says that events in Riga are being followed closely in Lithuania. No information about the Latvian funerals is yet available in Lithuania. A minute's silence is observed in memory of those killed in Riga.

At 1000 GMT the live relay ends.

At 1030 GMT Radio Kaunas resumes its relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius.

Deputies discuss a draft law on the structure and reorganization of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences and all scientific research funding. The session is adjourned at 1130 GMT until 1300 GMT, and the relay ends.

At 1300 GMT, Radio Kaunas resumes its relay of the Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius as deputies are discussing the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. At 1400 GMT the relay ends.

At 1426 GMT the relay resumes as deputies continue to debate the draft law on the Academy of Sciences.

Deputy Saulius Razma, rector of Vilnius Teachers Training Institute, says he has returned the Order of the Friendship of Nationalities which was granted to the institute by former Lithuanian SSR leaders. He says if friendship between nationalities is understood by the Kremlin as tanks crushing innocent people, then this order is unacceptable to the students and staff of the institute.

At 1430 GMT, the procurator general of Lithuania presents an account of the investigation to date by his office into the investigation of the violence in Vilnius. He says that a very large number of people have come forward asking to be allowed to give witness. The investigation is continuing.

At 1455 GMT, the session is adjourned until 1515 GMT.

It is announced that deputies of Vilnius City Council have adopted a decision to rename the present Kosmonautu Avenue as Freedom Avenue in memory of those killed on 12 January 1991. The relay ends.

At 1630 GMT, the relay resumes.

Deputy Supreme Council Chairman Kazimieras Motieka reads a list of donations to the Defense Fund; he also reads the names of donors. Donors are from various parts of Lithuania and also from the United States.

At 1635 GMT, a deputy reads an appeal from some voters addressed to Lithuanian enterprises, organization chairmen and all Lithuanian people. The appeal invites all people to work on 26 January, and to turn over this day's earnings to the Lithuanian Independence Defense Fund.

At 1638 GMT, other deputies read lists of donations from their constituents.

At 1643 GMT, the chairman of the session thanks the people of Lithuania on behalf of the deputies and closes the session. The relay then ends.

Supreme Council Resolution on Public Statements

LD2301023491 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Council adopted a resolution concerning public statements by deputies and public activists.

It exhorts all deputies, journalists, political activists, [word indistinct] citizens of the Republic of Lithuania, to be more circumspect and not to lose their self-control and responsibility for the sake of Lithuania and in memory of the victims who perished for its freedom.

The legislature's declaration notes that thoughtless and not always sufficiently weighed statements on television, during news conferences or at meetings, fracture and incite people, and counter-accusations serve the enemies of independence.

Sajudis Council Issues Statement on Situation

LD2201203591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1735 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Statement issued by the Vilnius Sajudis Council in Vilnius on 22 January—read by announcer]

[Text] In the wake of the bloody events provoked by the USSR Communist Party in Lithuania under the cover of an anonymous National Salvation Committee, rumors are being disseminated intentionally concerning planned retaliatory actions.

The Vilnius Sajudis Council declares that the Lithuanian Republic enjoys a legal, democratically elected state authority—the Supreme Council and the government which control the situation. All provocations against the population, especially non-Lithuanians, [words indistinct] of the Communist Party and the imposters of the National Salvation Committee who, through the use of criminal military [?deception], wish to regain lost power and privileges and to [words indistinct] conflicts as arguments to justify their own existence.

The criminals will answer for the destruction of peaceful people and the blood that has been spilled in accordance with the order established by law.

The Sajudis Council has never resorted to any measures of force or vengeance. It strongly condemns such action and will never resort to it.

The Vilnius Sajudis Council appeals to all Vilnius residents and asks them to preserve tranquillity, to control themselves, not to believe provocational rumors, and not to become involved in any conflicts. In the event evidence of hostile action against non-Lithuanian residents is observed, inform the internal affairs services or the staff of the Lithuanian Republic's Procuracy.

I have read an appeal to Vilnius residents by the Vilnius Sajudis Council.

'Persecution' of Communists Reported in Lithuania

LD2101180191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by special correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev from Vilnius]

[Text] Georgiy Tarazevich, the representative of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is continuing his mission to Lithuania. Today he met with representatives of the Congress of the Democratic Forces of Lithuania, which is made up of 22 public-political organizations who support the restoration of the USSR and Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Constitutions on the territory of the republic. Workers, kolkhoz [collective farm] workers, and leaders of enterprises were also present, as authorized by their labor collectives. The speakers told the representative from the country's legislature that in the enterprises and institutions of the republic, confrontation on ethnic grounds and on a social basis is continued. The Sajudis in the regions are compiling lists of Communists. They have declared a [word indistinct] terror, and they are forcing dissidents to give up their jobs and to leave the places where they live.

Having heard this information at the meeting with Georgiy Tarazevich, I turned to Audrius Butkevicius, a people's deputy and the general director of the department for the protection of the area, for some clarifications. In a taped interview, the leader of the so-called National Guard stated that not a single incident on ethnic or social grounds has been recorded in the republic. Allegedly there are no hostile relations on the part of their representatives toward the Soviet Army. Is that the case?

Today I met Eduard Tvardovskiy, first secretary of the Radviliskis Rayon party committee. He recounted specific facts regarding the persecution of Communists. For example (Ivan Bruchko), chief engineer of the Radviliskis depot, a Belorussian Communist, left the republic with his whole family in a single day. This happened as a result of Sajudis threats to deal with the chief engineer and his family. Tvardovskiy himself [word indistinct] is not having an easy time of it. He has been forced to spend the night at a military unit out of fear of retribution. His father has been severely beaten up and is now being treated in hospital.

And one further new piece of information from Vilnius life which it is clearly necessary to recount. Today the Vremya programs special correspsondents (Aleksandr Gerasimov) and (Roman Karmen) have been refused accreditation at the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet press center.

Democratic Forces Congress Distributes Appeal

LD2301112891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] Vilnius, 23 Jan (TASS)—The Congress of Democratic Forces of Lithuania has called on the republic's Supreme Soviet to fulfill the requirements of all the USSR president's decrees and restore the force of the Constitutions of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and USSR "for the sake of avoiding further confrontation in society."

In an appeal distributed here, the congress, which comprises the Lithuanian Communist Party and a number of public organizations of the republic, also asked the Lithuanian legislature to "lift all the legislative acts it has adopted since 11 March 1990 which contravene the Lithuanian SSR Constitution and the USSR Constitution and to stabilize the economic, political, and legal situation in Lithuania."

The Congress of Democratic Forces of Lithuania expects a reply from the republic's legislature not later than 24 January of this year.

Snieckus Citizens' Forum Supports Independence

LD2301022591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Vladimiras Sukodumcevas from Snieckus]

[Text] I would like to tell you about a new public organization in Snieckus—the Citizens' Forum. It was established a week ago and is characterized as follows: The Citizens' Forum is a voluntary association of Snieckus residents—individuals who respect the sovereignty and support the independence aims of the Lithuanian Republic and its desire to achieve that independence through negotiations with the Soviet Union, in a manner rendered impossible through any use of force in solving political problems.

Plans call for official registration of the Citizens' Forum soon. It is functioning already, however. The goal of its activity is to gather the people, to quietly [words indistinct] passions and to defend the interest of various groups of residents, including those of Lithuanian Republic's citizens' rights in Snieckus, and to express opinions regarding various questions.

In examining the events taking place in Lithuania, an appeal was prepared, directed at Snieckus residents. An appeal was sent to the Lithuanian Supreme Council and [words indistinct] all other matters were asked to be deliberated concerning social guarantees, even for those individuals who will not agree to accept Lithuanian citizenship. In this way, decisions are sought in order to avoid unnecessary passions here, especially at this time.

An appeal was also sent to the USSR Atomic Energy Ministry concerning the situation at Ignalina AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station] and the disruptive activity of the strike committees.

The point that the Citizens's Forum is not a political organization is especially emphasized. At the same time, there is no artificial objection at all to the totally [words indistinct] Council of Deputies, that it simply aspires to be the spokesman for the opinions of individuals who are normally [word indistinct] discussing and desirous of getting along well with Lithuania.

The nearest approaching task of the Citizens' Forum is to assist in the preparations for holding the poll in Snieckus that was announced by the Republic Supreme Council.

Poll Shows 'Almost 93 Percent' Favor Independence

LD2201135391 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius January 22 TASS—Almost 93 per cent of Lithuanians support the "Act on the Restoration of the Lithuanian State's Independence", passed by the Lithuanian parliament last March. These are the results of a public opinion poll carried out in the republic on January 14 by Vilnius University and the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

The poll was held in Vilnius, Vilnius region and Kaunas a day after the tragic events in the Lithuanian capital. It showed that the share of the non-indigenous population supporting the act increased as compared to the results of a similar poll last July. Now the act is supported by about 75 per cent of the polled Russians and about 66 per cent of the Poles. Six months ago the figures were 28 and 12 respectively. As many as 98 per cent of the polled Lithuanians support independence.

The poll showed that presidential rule in the republic is now supported by about seven per cent of the Lithuanian population, while 93 per cent are against it.

Vilnius Garrison Receives Messages of Support

LD2201152791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1128 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Vilnius, 22 Jan (TASS)—Dozens of telegrams addressed to the command of the Vilnius Garrison are arriving from collectives of soldiers, individual officers and warrant officers, and members of their families, troubled by the events in Lithuania.

Commenting on the telegrams at the request of your TASS correspondent, Colonel Smokarev, chief of the garrison's political department, said: "The majority of them express support for the actions to impose public order in Vilnius. There is also concern that there are people who are trying to exploit the events in Vilnius in order to denigrate the USSR Armed Forces and to whip up anti-Army sentiments and interethnic tension. This is of concern, for example, to the servicemen of the Krasnoufimsk garrison, officers from Kaliningrad, and servicemen from the Moscow military district, and a number of other military districts.

"It is not so much that regimental honor has been sullied, as the saying goes. People understand that it is precisely the unpopular policy of the Lithuanian legislature that has deepened the socioeconomic crisis and the acute political confrontation in the republic. I have in mind here the adoption by the Supreme Soviet and state bodies of Lithuania of numerous acts and resolutions, violating the rights and freedoms of citizens on the grounds of nationality, residence qualification, profession, and party membership. One hardly needs to say that these measures have hit servicemen and members of their families hard. The first ones to sympathize and express support for us were and remain, of course, military men whose service is always difficult and responsible.

"The final result of the actions and involvement of the military in the January events will be summed up by the competent bodies. Representatives of the USSR Procuracy and military lawyers, about whose professionalism no one has any doubts, are now working here. I believe that the further development of events will also depend upon the success of this work."

Military Maneuvers Planned in Lithuanian Districts

LD2201155891 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1630 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Journalists of a Pakroujis Rayon newspaper have reported that military maneuvers will take place tonight in the Lygumos and Kozalimas districts. The Mayor of Pakruojis was informed about it by servicemen.

People are advised to remain calm, drivers should drive with care, and young people should stay at home.

Citizens Can Report Movements

LD2201215191 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The Supreme Council information bureau has issued a request to the Lithuanian people to report on movements of military equipment within all areas of the republic. You may call at any time day or night. Telephone numbers: 62-84-23; 61-86-16.

Military Checkpoints Set Up

LD2201121691 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] During the last 24 hours the situation in Lithuania has been calm. No additional troops or hardware were introduced into Lithuania, though, like on the previous few nights, the military were observed moving in various parts of the country.

Many local municipalities have established normal relations with the Soviet military units stationed on their territories. [words indistinct] confirmed that in the town of [name indistinct] in southern Lithuania, the local [words indistinct] to obey some superior's order to occupy the municipality building and the local telephone exchange.

Meanwhile in Vilnius, as the Interior Ministry reports, the military set up eight transport checkpoints and 15

reinforced patrols are moving around the city. Each patrol consists of two officers and four soldiers.

City 'Considerably Calmer' 22 Jan

LD2201093391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by Vilnius correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev]

[Text] First of all, I will say that the situation in the capital of Lithuania remains calm. Last night passed without any significant incidents. Evidently, people are tired of the tension and it seems are taking pleasure in the stillness of the soft, I would say, translucent winter, which occurs only in the Baltic.

This morning in the republic's Parliament Square I saw considerably fewer people than in previous days and the situation there seemed to me to be considerably calmer.

Today, the relatives of those people who died nine days ago during the tragic events in Vilnius, the inhabitants of the capital of the republic, will light candles and will lay flowers on the graves of those who perished.

And today, in remembering those young and handsome people who died before their time, each of us has the opportunity to think about whether we are living in the right way, are our thoughts and actions worthy of the title of man and citizen, will we simply be able, not just to know, but also to recognize that a person gets only one life?

Speaking in the legislature yesterday, Vytautis Landsbergis, chairman of the republic's Supreme Council, said that the unleashing of interethnic strife is impermissible and spoke of a respectful attitude toward every person.

Yesterday, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania called upon the inhabitants of the republic and labor collectives for conciliation.

Yesterday, also, Lithuanian Committee for National Salvation adopted a statement on the question of getting the republic out of the political crisis.

As can be seen, the opposing sides have manifested the intention to establish peace on the ancient and good land of Lithuania. Will they be able to attain that, will the war of nerves and the disagreement between laws end, will the sides give way to the personal ambitions of some political figures?

As can be seen, more questions, nevertheless, remain than answers to them.

Paratroopers Leaving Some Buildings in Kaunas

LD2201160891 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Paratroopers are leaving some building in Kaunas. A week-long stay in Aleksotas by the paratroopers has ended. [passage omitted] Last Saturday about 1400, the uninvited guests left the technical school. [passage omitted] They left broken doors and damaged telephone cables. [passage omitted]

The Vairas Hotel is empty, too. [passage omitted] It is devastated, but losses were inflicted not only on the Vairas Hotel. Although it is able to accommodate over 300 guests, the hotel is almost empty. After various reports on the "Vremya" television newscast and other Union mass media, people are staying away from Lithuania.

TV, Radio Leaders Send Protest to Gorbachev

LD2201235291 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The leadership of the Lithuanian radio and TV and its public organization have sent a letter of protest to the Soviet president, Mikhail Gorbachev. The letter stresses that the occupied premises do not contain any property belonging to the Soviet Union or the Soviet Communist Party. The total value of all the buildings, radio and TV equipment, is valued at 42 million rubles. Two thousand staff members cannot return to their usual place of work because of the illegal activities of the Soviet troops.

They cannot repair the ravaged equipment and revive radio and TV broadcasts to the City of Vilnius and its region that would be of good quality.

The protest letter to Gorbachev demands an end to all illegal activities, to take (?out) military troops from the radio and TV premises and the TV tower. These buildings should be guarded by the Lithuanian Interior Ministry and the buildings themselves should be handed back to their legal owners.

And by the way, a special account has been opened to support the Lithuanian radio and TV.

TV, Radio Protest Halt of Broadcasts Abroad

LD2201144691 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Today the administration of the Lithuanian radio and television sent a telegram of protest to Leonid Kravchenko, chairman of the Soviet State Radio and Television committee.

The message says the following:

The radio and television of the Republic of Lithuania has been informed that for several days already the broadcasting of the Lithuanian external service programs to the world through the relay stations located on the territory of the Soviet Union has been stopped. We inform you that on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, radio and television programs of the Soviet Union are broadcast uninterrupted, although these programs contain a lot of misinformation and misinterpretation of facts on the situation in Lithuania.

The Lithuanian radio and television expresses its indignation over the stoppage of Lithuanian broadcasts abroad and hopes that the relaying of these programs worldwide will be immediately resumed.

Effect of 13 Jan Events on Local Broadcasts Noted

LD2201145491 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 21 Jan 91

[From the "DX Club" program]

[Text] The tragic events in Lithuania on 13 January have greatly affected our broadcast schedules. At one minute past midnight UTC (Universal Time Code) that night, when the radio signal originating from the main studio of the Lithuanian radio went off the air abruptly, local studios were activated.

They broadcast at least three different programs on medium wave—on 666 khz I monitored a program originating from the Kaunas studio. It contained a message broadcast in Lithuanian and Russian and warning that the military could undertake further actions against transmitting sites and the sirens on the air or unfamiliar voices should not mean that Lithuania was giving up the idea of independence. Since 0105 UTC this message was repeatedly broadcast in English, French, Polish, and German as well.

On the frequency of 1557 kHz, the studio in Klaipeda was activated, broadcasting mainly urgent appeals to the people of western Lithuania to come to Klaipeda and guard government buildings, the city municipality, telephone and telegraph stations. as well as the transmitter site of Radio Klaipeda. At 0146 UTC the station could be heard in English too.

The third program which was heard on medium wave during that night was the soundtrack of the Kaunas television. It was broadcast simultaneously by the transmitters in Kaunas and Viesintos on 1107 kHz and by the transmitter in Viesintos on 1557 kHz. This latter signal was interfering with Radio Klaipeda which had a different program on the same frequency.

Such a diversity on the air lasted until the late morning of 13 January when the common Lithuanian radio program from Vilnius was renewed.

The program of the Lithuanian television broke off at 0017 UTC after showing amazing pictures of the Soviet soldiers invading the television studio. However, in just a few minutes the television studio in Kaunas came on the air on all transmitters of the Lithuanian television with the exception, of course, of the Vilnius transmitter. The radio transmitters in Vilnius were also taken off the air.

This television program from Kaunas was broadcast via satellite as well and there were reports that at least in two countries—Finland and Canada—it was rebroadcast live by the local television networks.

But what's the situation now? Lithuanian television continues broadcasing from the studio in Kaunas. The radio personnel have moved to temporary studios located elsewhere in Vilnius. It is now capable to broadcast a single program only, so all the frequencies carry the same program round the clock. These frequencies are: 666, 1107, 1134, 1557, and 9710 kHz. The frequency of 6100 kHz is now inactive as the shortwave transmitter in Kaunas has been operating on 9710 kHz 24 hours a day since 13 January.

The USSR Telecommunications Ministry dealt us a major blow by discontinuing all relays of the Lithuanian radio as of 13 January. This affects both of the relays of the Lithuanian radio home service via a transmitter in Balashikha near Moscow as well as the relays of the foreign service beamed to North America via powerful shortwave transmitters in the USSR.

So now we are very eager to know how you receive our broadcasts on 9710 kHz shortwave as well as on medium wave frequencies. Please let us know by letter or other means.

Since the broadcasting center is occupied by the Soviet troops, please write to the Lithuanian DX Club at the address PO Box 1646, Vilnius, Lithuania. You may also use the telex number 26114300SC, addressing the Lithuanian DX Club as well.

Lithuanian-Polish Border Troop Buildup Denied

PM2201122191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by Fedor Ivanov: "Calm on the Border"]

[Text] USSR KGB—There were reports in the Polish press recently that a concentration of "special" formations of Soviet border guards had been noted on the Lithuanian section of the Soviet-Polish border and that border fortifications are being strengthened.

Your IZVESTIYA correspondent asked I. Kalinichenko, chief of the USSR KGB border troops directorate, to comment on this information:

"Rumors about additional subunits of border guards on the Lithuanian section are unfounded. So far all is quiet on the Soviet-Polish border and no 'intensification' is required there. But we are attentively following events in Lithuania and if a threat to the safety of the border and border guards arises, we shall take appropriate measures."

Ministry Denies Busing Journalists Out of Vilnius

PM2301094091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev from Moscow under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Foreign Journalists Injured in Lithuania"]

[Text] Moscow—Rumors are spreading among foreign journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center that during the night 60 foreign correspondents were bused out of Vilnius. IZVESTIYA asked the USSR Foreign Ministry to comment on this information. We received the following answer:

"These rumors are absolutely unfounded. According to information supplied by reliable sources, nobody took any such action with respect to foreign journalists in Vilnius.

"Unfortunately, during the events in Vilnius on the night of 12-13 January two correspondents—one from England and one from Spain—were physically injured. The first suffered slight injuries but the second was more seriously hurt. In four other cases, Western correspondents had their video cameras taken from them. Two representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration have flown to Lithuania to sort out the problems."

Muscovites Offer Condolences at Lithuanian Mission

LD2201150191 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] The permanent representative of the Republic of Lithuania in Moscow, Egidijus Bickauskas, informs that the Lithuanian mission in the Soviet capital is working [round] the clock. Muscovites come to express their condolences to the Lithuanian people; they bring medicines and money. The total sum of donations has reached the mark of 30,000 rubles by now.

Members of the Soviet Government opposing the use of military force against civilians also came to express their condolences.

Latvia

Gorbunovs, Rubiks Meet With Gorbachev 22 Jan

'No Need' for Presidential Rule

LD2201210191 Moscow TASS in English 2039 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Bulanov]

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs believes parliamentary means to stabilise the situation in the republic have not yet been exhausted and there is no need for President Mikhail Gorbachev to introduce presidential rule in the republic.

Gorbachev shares this point of view, Gorbunovs told reporters after two-hours of talks with the Soviet president in Moscow today.

An inter-republican dialogue with all political forces will continue in Latvia if these forces recognise the Latvian parliament and government, he said.

Citing lack of time, Gorbunovs declined to comment on his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin, saying that they shared views on the situation in the Baltics.

Gorbunovs Invited to Presidium

LD2201133191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1300 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report from the Latvian Republican Supreme Council Press Center]

[Text] Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Republic's Supreme Council, has already talked with President Mikhail Gorbachev. Anatolijs Gorbunovs received an invitation to participate in a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium at which, it is said, a discussion of the situation in the Baltics will take place. If Anatolijs Gorbunovs takes part in this meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, then the information about both talks will be expected only toward evening, when he will give a news conference on his meeting with the USSR president at the permanent mission of the Latvian Republic's Council of Ministers in Moscow.

TASS on Gorbachev-Gorbunovs Talks

LD2201142191 Moscow TASS in English 1410 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow January 22 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met Latvian President Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Latvian Communist Party Chief Alfreds Rubiks.

They noted the great danger of the aggravating social and political situation in Latvia, which resulted in armed clashes and casualties.

They expressed deep condolences to victims' families and noted the need to take emergency measures to alleviate the conflict and search for political ways to strengthen law and order and normalise the situation in the Republic.

They agreed that the Latvian parliament and all political parties and movements favouring national equality, human rights and legitimate interests of all Soviet citizens, should play an important role in this process.

They discussed the role of federal and republican bodies in settling inter-ethnic conflicts and possibilities of fruitful economic and political cooperation of all republics in a renovated Soviet Union.

The Soviet president said he was ready to help improve the situation and work for civil peace and accord in Latvia and other Baltic republics.

Soviet parliament speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov also attended the meeting.

PRAVDA Reviews Talks

PM2301085391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jan 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under general headline: "Meetings in Kremlin"]

[Text] Talks were held in the Kremlin on 22 January between USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, A.V. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, and A.P. Rubiks, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

During talks they noted the great danger of a deterioration in the sociopolitical situation in Latvia, which has led to armed clashes and casualties. Expressing profound sympathy for the families of those killed and injured, the meeting participants stressed the need to take urgent measures to reduce social confrontation and to find ways to strengthen law and order and normalize the situation in the republic on the basis of political dialogue. A great role in this process should be played by the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and all political parties and movements advocating ethnic equality and the defense of the rights and legitimate interests of every Soviet citizen.

There was a thorough exchange of opinions on the role of Union and republic institutions in resolving interethnic conflicts, and the opportunities for fruitful economic and political cooperation among all the country's republics in a renewed USSR.

The USSR president expressed readiness to continue to vigorously promote the improvement of the situation and the strengthening of civic peace and harmony in the Latvian SSR and the other Baltic republics.

A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the talks.

Council Member Jundzis Views Talks

LD2201142891

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Latvian at 1300 GMT on 22 January carries a four-minute recorded interview with Talavs Jundzis, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Defense and Internal Affairs Commission by an unidentified correspondent. The place and date of the interview are not given.

Jundzis reports that Gorbachev's invitation came "suddenly" and took the form of a personal invitation to Gorbunovs to come to Moscow. When the invitation arrived, the People's Front faction met and was unanimous that the invitation should be accepted since all opportunities for dialogue should be pursued.

Jundzis confirms that Gorbunovs had not been given any special authority, but as Supreme Council chairman, Gorbunovs has the authority to speak on behalf of the Supreme Council.

Report on Gorbunovs News Conference After Talks

LD2301094891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0552 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Report by Inert Skunish from Riga]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We are ready to hear your news. Could you tell us about the most important thing?

[Skunish] Well, it goes without saying that event number one here is the meeting of USSR President Gorbachev with Gorbunovs, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and Rubiks, the first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, which was held in Moscow yesterday. So far we have not got any extensive official information straight from the horse's mouth. The only thing I can say is that yesterday after the meeting had taken place, Anatolijs Gorbunovs held a news conference at Latvia's permanent mission in Moscow. According to Latvian radio and television reports, he said a great deal there about the search for compromise and about the stabilization of the political and general situation in Latvia. Gorbunovs especially stressed—as he had already done at the meeting with Gorbachev, according to reports—that he is ready to seek consultations with all those Latvian parties and movements which recognize the legally elected Latvian Supreme Soviet and government. I think that this evening I will be able to give you more specific information because Anatolijs Gorbunovs is expected at the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

I would like to point out that yesterday there was an item on the Supreme Soviet's agenda concerning the establishment of a concord committee, but this committee and commission were not set up because the minority group is not working within the Supreme Soviet for the time being. Sergey Dimanis, leader of the Equal Rights minority group, said that as long as there is an alliance between the majority group of the National Front of the Latvian Supreme Soviet and the Congress of citizens, the group will not take part in the work of the Supreme Soviet. Dimanis also put forward his demands concerning the reorganization of the government and resignation of Vaznis, minister of internal affairs. [passage omitted]

There were no strikes yesterday. However, the republican strike committee's demands remain in force—that is, the resignation of the government, disbandment of the Supreme Soviet, and return to former prices. [passage omitted].

I telephoned the militiaman on duty today. Captain Repshnya who was on duty asked on me to tell you that the situation here is normal; last night was calmer than usual and crime is also less than normal. [passage omitted]

Jurkans To Meet West European Foreign Ministers

LD2101220691 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 2113 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] As Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia, has postponed his visit to Sweden, Great Britain, France, and Germany, it has been decided to hold meetings at the foreign affairs ministerial level between Latvia and these states.

Janis Jurkans, who is now in Sweden and has already had several meetings with Foreign Minister Sten Andersson, will leave for Britain tomorrow. Then he will visit France and Germany. It is planned that he will have meetings there with Foreign Ministers Douglas Hurd, Roland Dumas, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Arrives in London, Urges Sanctions

LD2201160491 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1514 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By PRESS ASSOCIATION correspondent Martin White]

[Text] The violence in the Baltic states could spread to other parts of Europe unless the problem is solved rapidly, Latvia's Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans warned when he flew into London today. "Western civilisation is very concerned about the situation in the Baltic states for they have always been the laboratory for changes in the Soviet Union," he said. "If they have started using force against the Baltics, they will not stop at the borders of the Soviet Union."

Mr Jurkans is urging "internationalisation" and is backing sanctions against the Soviet authorities. He will meet Prime Minister John Major and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and urge "all possible support that the British Government can give us". He declined to be drawn on the type of sanctions he would be recommending but said it was important they helped the people and not the government, which was trying to restore the previous regime by force.

"I think this is the end of perestroyka and of Gorbachev himself. He has resorted to military force and has joined the strongest, oldest structures in the Soviet Union, namely the Army, the militants, the KGB and the communist hardliners," added Mr Jurkans.

Military Procuracy Experts Travel to Riga

LD2201040291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0300 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] USSR Military Procuracy experts are to arrive in Riga today. Boris Pugo, the country's minister of internal affairs, has informed the Latvian Supreme Soviet that the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] forces will refrain from any military actions.

Troops Told To Minimize Movements

LD2201131691 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1215 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The press center of the Baltic Military District has told a ELTA correspondent that today, 22 January, troops of the district are in their places of deployment. Colonel General Fedor Kuzmin, commander of the district, confirmed his instruction to restrict to a minimum the movement of military hardware within the district.

Pugo Denies Prior Knowledge of Riga Attack

LD2201114891 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0806 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Aloizs Vaznis, the republic's minister of internal affairs, said on his return from Moscow that Boris Pugo, the USSR minister of internal affairs, stated that the storming of the building of the Latvian interior ministry by special purpose militia detachments occurred without his knowledge. He denounced what happened and will order the Special Purpose Militia Detachments not to leave their bases while the investigation is in progress.

Minister's Message to Pugo Condemns Militia Units

LD2201113191 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 0806 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Yesterday the Ministry of Agriculture of the Latvian Republic sent a telegram to Boris Pugo, the USSR minister of internal affairs. It was signed by Minister Dainis Gegeris, by (Vilnius Bresis), chairman of the Union of Agricultural Workers of Latvia, and by (Andris Rozentals), chairman of the republic's Peasants' Federation. The telegram says: We resolutely protest yhe anticonstitutional actions of OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachments] in Latvia. We demand that application of glasnost, that the initiators and perpetrators of the crimes be brought to account, and that the damage inflicted on the republic be made good. If you are really concerned about ensuring the safety of the population of Latvia, and about the future of your fatherland we expect you to take urgent measures to remove the OMON units from the territory of the Latvian Republic.

Commission Set Up for Talks With Baltic Military

LD2201143691 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 91

[LETA information agency report]

[Text] In implementing the agreement reached between the leadership of the Latvian Republic's Supreme Council and Council of Ministers and the USSR minister of defense and chief of the General Staff, the government has formed a commission for talks with the leadership of the Baltic Military District and the Baltic

Fleet. The chairman of the commission is Ilmars Bisers, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Republic's Council of Ministers.

Investigation Begins Into 'Illegal' Militia Acts

LD2201120991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent Dzhafarov from Riga; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] It is quiet here today, but last night it was a real war. An OMON [special purpose militia unit] detachment seized the building of the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The outcome is a sad one: Andres Slapins, a cameraman and producer from the Podnieks group, Militia Lieutenant Vladimir Gomonovich, and Sergey Kononenko were killed, and 18-year old schoolboy Edijs Riekstins has just been identified. Another Podnieks cameraman, a cameraman from the "Vzglyad" program and from (Vienna) television were wounded. In all, 10 people were wounded. Doctors are still fighting for the lives of some of them.

(Igor Kupra), head of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, told a news conference at the Latvian Supreme Soviet that there is information from the OMON that the wife of one of the members of the detachment was raped on the evening before the tragedy. This allegedly led to the illegal [protivopravnyy] actions by the OMON. This story is now being carefully checked, and so far it is too early to draw any conclusions.

There are reliable reports that the Latvian Interior Ministry building was fired on simultaneously from two sides. Janis Skrastins, the republic's procurator general, said this leads one to believe that the action to seize the ministry building was carefully planned. Since last October a number of criminal cases have been instituted against the OMON for committing various illegal acts. At the same time, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, to which the OMON is subordinate, has still not expressed an opinion on this in any way. The people of the republic are demanding more serious punishment for those who gave the orders resulting in the deaths of innocent people, and this is the main aim of the investigation that has begun tonight.

Autopsy Report on Victims Released

LD2301115191 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0800 GMT 23 Jan 91

[Text] This morning we begin the broadcast with laconic and very sad information. The chief specialist of the forensic medical expert examination office, Vladimirs Smits, informs us that a post-mortem examination has been carried out on the four shot dead on the evening of 20 January.

The internal affairs department inspector Sergey Kononenko died of a shot to the head;

Edijs Riekstins, a pupil of the No. 65 secondary school, died of a stomach wound;

Riga Film Studio's producer and operator Andris Slapins was shot in the chest;

Senior Lieutenant of the Government Guard Vladimir Gomonovich died of a shot to the neck.

All these shot dead died at the place of the incident.

But in Riga, defense of the more important objects continues. The republic's defense commission believes that duty service must be continued, and in order to ensure an adequate number of people, a greater activity of the Riga people is desired. This guard is a stabilizing factor which ensures the protection of the legislature and the government. For the time being it is very, very necesary, because the political situation is not at all stable.

Situation in Republic 'Normal;' No Strikes 22 Jan

LD2201175591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By correspondent Inert Skunish from Riga]

[Text] Today Latvia's work rhythm was back to normal. There were no strikes. Of course, I can not give the full picture of the moods in all labor collectives, but in the last few days I had many conversations with leaders and workers at certain enterprises, and the majority of them think that strikes are not necessary; that striking will not improve the already grave economic situation. We need to resolve all the republic's most complex questions only by discussion.

A news conference by Rubiks, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party [CP], took place with Soviet and foreign journalists. The interest was enormous. Incidentally, more than 160 foreign journalists are working in Riga at the moment. The journalists were especially interested in the party's attitude to the latest events in the republic.

A statement was published today by the buro of the Latvian CP Central Committee in connection with the events in Riga 19-21 January. In particular, it says that the buro of the Central Committee states that the Latvian CP was not and is not the organizer of any kind of armed actions with regard to the republic's Supreme Soviet and government.

The Equality [ravnopraviye] faction also expressed its attitude to the latest events. It published its statement today and its meeting with journalists took place today. Sergejs Dimanis, leader of the Equality minority faction, said that the alliance between the Supreme Soviet, now the faction of the majority, and the congress of citizens, does not permit the faction to return and continue work in the legislature.

The last thing I would like to say as well today: The command of the Baltic military okrug, answering a question from local republican journalists, answered that servicemen are located at their posts, that normal training work is being conducted, and that the movement of troops has been limited to a minimum.

One can say that, as a whole, the situation in the republic today is normal.

Political Strike Planned for 22 Jan Suspended

Railroad Workers Suspend Strike

LD2201060691

[Editorial Report] Riga Domestic Service in Russian at 0109 GMT on 22 January carries a one-minute report by an unidentified announcer which says that Galina (Perepelova), chairman of the strike committee of the Riga section of the Baltic Railway, has announced: "Because of the agreement reached and the start of dialogue between the republic's leadership, the All-Latian National Salvation Committee, and the USSR president, the strike committee of the Riga Railroad has decided to suspend its political strike. Should our demands not be met, we reserve the right to go on strike."

The announcer says that many other enterprises are refusing to go on strike.

Power Workers Defy Strike

LD2201095791 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0700 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Excerpts] This is the day when the Interfront and the united council of labor collectives planned to hold a strike of the republic's enterprises. The strike is said to be political and its main demand is the government's resignation, the handover of power to the All-Latvia Salvation Committee, and the restoration of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. At a session of the strike committee yesterday, its chairman, (Yuriy Drukalskiy), said the strike will take place. [passage omitted]

The substations of the Latvian electricity system's power distribution network in Kurzeme and Zemgale regions which provide power to Jelgava, Bauska, Dobele Tukums, Talsi, Eleja, Tecava, and other towns and villages are in the reliable hands of controllers of the southern power networks. Trustworthy men are on duty today in controller rooms who have announced that the power line will not be disconnected and that all consumers will receive power. No one there will submit to the Interfront' criminal calls to strike.

Daugavpils City Cancels Strike

LD2201121191 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1005 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] A plenum of the Daugavpils Communist Party City Committee yesterday recommended to the city strike committee not to hold the political strike planned for today. The strike committee adopted the appropriate decision, and so the strike which had been discussed so extensively in the city and republic will not take place. But the committee did not lift the previously submitted demands for the resignation of the government, the dissolution of parliament, and the abolition of the new prices. The committee adopted a decision forbidding city enterprises to transfer taxation payments to the republic's budget and to use the money saved thereby to set up a strike defense fund. Unfortunately, the committee does not explain from whom the city needs to be defended.

Strike 'Deferred' Demand Remains

LD2201121591 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The strike at industrial and other national economy enterprises is not taking place today. As is known, at the sitting yesterday of the republic's strike committee organized by the Interfront and Council of Labor Collectives it was decided to hold a political strike on 22 January.

In connection with this our correspondent met with Aleksey Litvinenko, deputy chairman of the strike committee and the chairman of the United Council of Labor Collectives. He said that the strike has been canceled and read the statement adopted at midnight yesterday. It states that the decision was adopted because a meeting is envisaged for Anatolijs Gorbunovs and Ivars Godmanis today in Moscow with Mikhail Gorbachev. At the same time he also recognized that such a strike at this moment, at the moment of this meeting, could destabilize the situation in the republic.

The demand advanced by the strike committee remains in force. So then, in practice, only the date of the strike has been deferred.

The statement also points out that the action of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] is not destabilizing the republic's social life, and that the labor collectives would correctly assess this and would support their efforts to adhere to the USSR constitution in Latvia.

In the conversation with our correspondent, Aleksey Litvinenko admitted also that many inhabitants have telephoned the strike committee and have condemned these strike calls, but as soon as the postponement of the strikes was announced the telephone calls stopped.

Black Beret Officers Describe Riga Operations

PM2301101591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Report by N. Belan: "Black Berets: We Will Not Falter"]

[Text] Riga-Moscow—Like their colleagues in Lithuania they have been cursed. These guys in the black berets—Special Purpose Militia Detachment soldiers in Riga—

are spat upon, loathed, bad-mouthed on television and in the newspapers, and virtually outlawed.

Literally a day or so ago a high-ranking Latvian official claimed: We cannot resign ourselves to the existence and illegal activity of the "black berets." They are armed to the teeth. I have been told that lists of "black berets" have been posted in old Riga, along with their families' addresses. I call on everyone to remain calm and restrained in this respect. Trained, well-equipped people are needed to remove them. We are training them and we will act in a determined manner....

I am also aware of a different kind of determination. "If anyone so much as lays a finger on our families!..." Is that not what they are carefully counting on?

When we drove out to the Special Purpose Militia Detachment base, I also heard these words: "You are taking risks, it is not for nothing that they are treated like lepers." We arrived and met a group of workers there: two Russians, a Belorussian, and a Latvian. They were winding up a discussion with the detachment commander and agreeing to cooperate and help the "black berets." The situation is that some people curse them, while others help them.

I will not give their names and surnames. Nor those of the detachment's members, moreover. These were the conditions on which both agreed to give interviews. Because the threats of reprisals are real and passions regarding them are at their peak.

So, here is my conversation with a major, the detachment's commander.

"The up-to-the-minute situation in the city is extremely complex and is in some respects reminiscent of Baku," he said. "That is, we can expect a conflict at any moment."

[Belan] You were in Baku?

[Unidentified major] No, but I have sufficient information to draw that conclusion. The men here have enough firearms: Soviet and foreign guns—including submachine guns—and communications systems, Soviet and imported; they are fully supplied with transport and have set up a well-organized supply of food, fuels, and lubricants. The local mass media are constantly fueling hysteria and spreading disinformation. Every military vehicle both in Riga and in the environs of the city is under total surveillance. We are under constant surveillance; we and our relatives have experienced a barrage of threats. Today, for instance, the father of one of our staffers arrived here. He has been threatened and conditions have been imposed in order for him to remain alive: He has to publicly quit the Communist Party and his son must immediately leave the ranks of the Special Purpose Militia Detachment.

[Belan] Your detachment is accused of illegal actions. Confiscating weapons from the higher militia school, for instance....

[Unidentified major] Yes, all the mass media have mentioned this. But this is what they have overlooked. Mr. Vaznis, the republic's incumbent internal affairs minister, decided to establish an arms dump for People's Front combat detachments at the Riga branch of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Minsk Higher Militia School. Training of so-called alternativniks—that is, people who dodge fulfillment of the Law on Compulsory Military Service—has been organized there. Last year the USSR MVD leadership decided to remove all weapons from the school; the relevant decree was published, but it was not carried out. What is more, weapons began to be openly handed over to militants—they were given 650 on Mr. Vaznis' instructions. That is why we confiscated the weapons—grenade launchers, machine guns, submachine guns, pistols, ammunition.

Here is another detail. Ten minutes after we left the school a group of so-called white berets arrived to receive the weapons we had confiscated.

[Belan] People are saying that you beat up a lot of people there.

[Unidentified major] Yes, we did use physical persuasion when we met with active resistance. But within the bounds of what is permissible. I saw an injured student on television. If he had really received a blow to the jaw, as he claimed, from the butt of a submachine gun he would not have escaped with a mere bandage, he would have had a broken jaw. So the rumors and cock-and-bull stores are wildly exaggerated. [Unidentified major ends]

A tall, burly senior lieutenant who was present during our conversation and who then showed me the weapons he had confiscated added:

[Unidentified senior lieutenant] When we arrived at the school the students began to throw empty bottles from above and smash glass. It turned out that there was a drinking session in progress at the time on the third floor.

[Belan] What about the events of Wednesday?

[Unidentified senior lieutenant] A bridge via which the detachment can rapidly reach the city center was blocked. We were forced to take steps to clear it. During this operation a minibus tried to get away from us and people on board shot at our personnel. We opened fire at the tires and one bullet set the gas tank alight. The minibus caught fire. Four men jumped out and fled across a railroad embankment. There were no women and children in the minibus.

[Belan] How was the Volga driver killed?

[Unidentified senior lieutenant] This story has to be carefully investigated. It is very suspicious that the vehicle carried false registration plates. And this Volga, which hit a post as it was getting away from the burning minibus, did not have a bullet hole on the roof, only a scratch. [Senior lieutenant ends]

Ending our conversation, the detachment commander stressed:

"Unlike the Special Purpose Militia Detachment's Lithuanian unit we have been experiencing this kind of conditions—attacks and denigration—since 15 September last year. But we will not falter, we will be true to the end to the USSR Constitution, the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution and to our oath to the president."

Latvian Officials Discuss Militia Actions

PM2301085591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jan 91 Union Edition pp 1, 2

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova: "If It Was A Provocation, Who Prepared It?"]

[Excerpt] Riga—[passage omitted] Journalists—and there are several hundred of them in Riga, including foreign journalists—were able to ask questions at a news conferences held 21 January at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet.

Most of the questions were addressed to Alfreds Rubiks, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and a USSR and Latvian people's deputy, and concerned the recently created All-Latvian National Salvation Committee.

[Journalist] Is the National Salvation Committee a public organization or does it have any state functions?

[Rubiks] It is a public organization.

[Journalist] Does it intend to acquire state functions?

[Rubiks] No, it cannot acquire them. I think that we need to call early elections for the Supreme Soviet, which has led the republic down the blind alley of civic confrontation.

[Journalist] Who would call them?

[Rubiks] The current Supreme Soviet.

[Journalist] On the basis of what constitution?

[Rubiks] On the basis of the Constitutions of the USSR and the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. [Rubiks ends]

Many of the questions offered convincing proof that certain people are drawing far-reaching conclusions about a "guiding hand" from a local conflict that ended in tragedy:

[Journalist] To what extent does the Latvian Communist Party finance the Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON]?

[Rubiks] To no extent at all.

[Journalist] Are there any OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] Communists registered with your party organization?

[Rubiks] No, there are not.

[Journalist] Mr. Rubiks, did you speak with Colonel General Kuzmin, commander of the Baltic Military District, last night? Do you have any agreement about Army intervention in the republic's affairs?

[Rubiks] I spoke with the commander. I informed him about the shooting near the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] building and what was happening around us. But he already knew about it.

[Journalist] Who gave the order to send the OMON into the Press Center 2 January?

[Rubiks] The OMON had been there not since 2 January but since 28 October, when the Latvian Republic made the illegal decision to seize property belonging to the party. [Rubiks ends]

At the Supreme Soviet press conference Janis Skrastynsh, the Latvian Republic general prosecutor, confirmed reports that the wife of one of the OMON men had been abducted and had suffered an outrage. J. Skrastynsh said that his officers were taking every measure to clarify the case. He promised that the culprits would receive their just deserts for this gravest of crimes. The prosecutor noted that the episode could well have been an inflammatory factor. After this statement by the prosecutor was repeatedly broadcast on the radio and television, one of the Prosecutor's Office investigators reported that nothing should be taken as certain just yet. It remained unclear just who should be believed—the general prosecutor or the investigator?

Here are the answers given to journalists' questions by I. Kupra, chief of the Latvian MVD Criminal Militia:

[Journalist] How many OMON men took part in the action?

[Kupra] I cannot be precise as yet. The OMON men themselves may answer that.

[Journalist] What measures have been taken to prevent any recurrence of such action?

[Kupra] Every measure has been taken to settle the conflict peacefully. That is why Yuriy Kukushkin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, has come to Latvia. He has an investigation team and representatives of the Military Prosecutor's Office with him. I think that we will be able to settle all our differences peacefully. [Kupra ends]

Theories about what did happen on the evening of 20 January are proliferating. As Zenon Indrikov, Latvian deputy minister of internal affairs, reported in conversation with Supreme Soviet Deputies Shapovalov and Bekasov, nobody in the MVD building was killed. The

people killed by the bullets were somewhat further away, by the so-called Bastion Hill in a nearby park. The OMON men claim that snipers were firing a machine gun from there.

I. Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, sees the following as a solution to the situation:

"The OMON should remain at their base. In accordance with the order from the USSR MVD the detachment should be withdrawn from Latvia. Those who have transgressed the law should be brought to justice."

A political strike called by the republic strike committee was to have started in Latvia 22 January. But, given the tense situation in the republic in connection with recent events, the strike committee has made the decision to suspend this political action.

Equal Rights Leader Comments on Situation

LD2201215491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Excerpts] This afternoon in Riga, at the sociopolitical center of the Latvian Communist Party [CP] Central Committee, representatives of the Equal Rights faction of the Supreme Council of the Latvian Republic met foreign and domestic journalists.

The deputies informed those gathered of the reasons they had left the legislature and on what kind of conditions they would return. They read an ultimatum-like statement to the People's Front of Latvia faction deputies demanding the breaking off of contacts with the Citizens' Congress, the demolishing of barricades in the old city, and making changes in the government, especially demanding the resignation of the republic's minister of interior, Aloizs Vaznis.

They fully justified the attacks by the Black Berets on the Riga branch of the militia higher education establishment and on the Interior Ministry, motivating this by continuous threats by society to this organization of bandits.

On hearing such obvious lies, many foreign journalists demonstratively left the news conference.

And now a brief insight into the reply by the leader of the Equal Rights faction, Sergey Dimanis, on the question of predictions of possible political cooperation in our republic in the near future.

[Begin Dimanis recording, in Russian] First, if we can all stabilize the situation in the republic with our own efforts, having formed a political center, forming it in the legislature, such a possibility does exist. Therefore we would like to return this to the legislature. At the same time, as I have already said, it allows the reorganization of the government to take collective responsibility for the course of (?affairs). This variant of the peaceful development of events which we, in all respects, support, and will strive to do this. [sentence as heard] The second variant: If the activeness of the national radical forces which we [words indistinct], it will really aggravate the situation to such a degree that it will require, not presidential rule, but some kind of intereference from the outside for the sake of, as I have already stated, stabilizing the situation. [passage omitted]

The third variant of the development of events is the most unfavorable. If the national radicals who have now received massive psychological and other kinds of powers, meaning that they will continue further in the same spirit. [sentence as heard] Under such circumstances, in our opinion, the situation simply cannot be subject to any kind of predictions. It is possible that some kind of stabilization of the situation is taking place, on the same basis as our social structure existed a few days ago, I mean before these events. [passage omitted]

Official Sees Danger of Civil War, Dictatorship

AU2101210191 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 20 Jan 91 pp 12-13

[Interview with Janis Peters, Latvian permanent representative in Moscow, by Friedemann Weckbach-Mara; place and date not given: "Gorbachev's Time Is Over"]

[Text] [Weckbach-Mara] How serious is the situation?

[Peters] The dramatic confrontation that has developed in the Baltic republics is very dangerous. An agent provocateur who is prepared to touch off the spark can always be found. Now the person who gave the military operation order and was the first to press the trigger must be found in Lithuania. The victims of the bloody Sunday of 13 January were 13 Lithuanians and a Russian officer. As many as 164 were wounded, 43 of them are still given in-patient treatment, 26 are in a critical condition.

[Weckbach-Mara] Are the dramatic events in the Baltic states the beginning of dictatorship and civil war in the Soviet Union?

[Peters] I think that civil war has already been initiated, even though it has not yet seized the whole gigantic country. I regard the anonymous Committee for National Salvation that was founded in Lithuania as the prototype of a future dictatorship. As early as in November, Ivars Godmanis, premier of the Latvian Republic, and I had a three-hour talk with Eduard Shevardnadze. As early as at that time he talked of a tragical presentiment of dictatorship. In my opinion, the forces that are still living according to the rules of old thinking are now forcing Mikhail Gorbachev back.

[Weckbach-Mara] Will Boris Yeltsin become Gorbachev's successor?

[Peters] I cannot exactly say when Gorbachev's time will be over. However, undoubtedly his positions are already seriously undermined. I personally think that Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet of People's Deputies, is his successor. It is true that I am not one of

his adherents. However, I have the impression that Sobchak belongs to the vanguard of the country's political life.

Soviet Ethics Chairman Comments on Events in Riga

PM2201114791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Interview with A. Denisov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission for questions of deputies' ethics, by legislative correspondent A. Stepovoy on 21 January in Moscow; first paragraph is introduction: "Chance or Natural Law?"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation sent to study the situation in Latvia was in that republic for three days. The delegation returned to Moscow during the day of 20 January and that night the tragedy happened in Riga. On the morning of 21 January IZVESTIYA legislative correspondent A. Stepovoy talked on this subject with A. Denisov, chairman of the commission for questions of deputies' ethics and head of the Union legislative delegation.

[Stepovoy] Anatoliy Alekseyevich, you were in Latvia just a few hours ago. How do you assess the latest events taking place in Riga?

[Denisov] What I had supposed would happen is happening in Latvia. And I mentioned this at a news conference in Riga. The main source of what, at the time I was speaking, was potential bloodshed (and it has already occurred) was the conflict of laws. And to be specific the opposition of the law protection forces, that is, the militia subordinated to the Latvian Internal Affairs Ministry and operating in accordance with internal laws, and the special purpose militia detachment, which is subordinate to the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and naturally follows Union law. Here these contradictions are deep. Ultimately they float to the surface in the confrontation between specific people, that is on the one hand the families of special-purpose militia detachment members are persecuted as representatives of an alien power, so to speak, while on the other hand the special-purpose militia display an attempt to protect their families or simply behave aggressively since they feel social outcasts. They are in the minority. There are just 120 of them while there are 32,000 in the militia in Latvia.

I stress once again that there is keen confrontation in Latvia both on the theoretical, legal level and on the purely human, workaday level. Clashes took place right next to us. And both sides were perpetrating acts of provocation, both deliberate and by virtue of the excessive bitterness. They are dominated by much that is illusory.

[Stepovoy] But the bloodshed which took place was a reality....

[Denisov] In particular there is a story that the attack was connected with the fact that someone telephoned the special purpose militia detachment headquarters and announced that the wife of one of the detachment members had been raped and members of their families had been taken hostage and were all in the Latvian MVD. This generated an immediate reaction with an attempt to free the hostages.

That this could have been the case is confirmed by the following fact: At that late hour there were many foreign news agency correspondents outside the MVD building. They could not know that the special purpose militia detachment was planning an attack. Especially as this was a lightning reaction on the part of the detachment. It had not prepared itself in advance: They got into two vehicles immediately and went to the ministry....

The Latvian MVD is situated in the same quiet side street as the hotel where we were staying. That is why this ministry was constantly before our eyes. There was never a single living soul in front of it except for the militia guard. There were never any correspondents there. How a crowd of foreign correspondents turned up there is incomprehensible.

Back on the morning of 20 January we noted that all the militia were dressed in bullet-proof vests as though they were expecting an attack. The different color of the militia's uniform was immediately obvious.

That was in the morning. But considering that an attempt was made to involve even us in particular acts of provocation we expected this outcome.

The previous night unknown people had fired on the special-purpose militia detachment residence. Without losses on either side, it is true.

[Stepovoy] How do you assess the situation in Latvia today?

[Denisov] As supremely tense.

[Stepovoy] And where is the way out of this state?

[Denisov] We must resolve the problem of the conflict of laws. There cannot be two laws in the country. Latvia must be given the right to self-determination but within the framework of the existing law. While there is no Union treaty Union legislation must operate without any reservations. Because as soon as yet another law appears shooting begins.

That is an inevitable natural law and not simply chance. Where can you go here when you do not know which law to obey. And in general the existence of two laws causes division in society. Part of the population follows some laws, the other part other laws.

[Stepovoy] That is a diarchy in the law?

[Denisov] Of course. And what could be worse? From the outset we are implanting this contradiction from top to bottom....

[Stepovoy] By "we" you mean the Union and republican legislators?

[Denisov] I am speaking in general: Once we allow such things then such consequences are, I repeat, inevitable. This cannot be allowed to continue. It is possible to change laws, it is possible to renounce them completely, but one cannot allow the operation of two kinds of law. As long as the Union still formally exists, its laws must operate. And while they operate one can elaborate, in a calm atmosphere, whatever laws and agreements about the new union we like. That is normal civilized behavior. But we have savage behavior.

[Stepovoy] When will your commission's official report be made?

[Denisov] On 22 January at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

RSFSR Minister Seeks Contacts With Latvia

LD2201143191 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1316 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The stabilization of the situation in the Baltics is extremely important for Russia, too, Andrey Fedorov, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy foreign minister, declared at a news conference for foreign journalists after speaking with Janis Dinevich, chairman of the People's Front faction in the Latvian legislature. Fedorov said that he has come to Latvia on the instructions of the Russian legislature to study the situation in the Baltics and to establish contacts.

In his view, the Russian-speaking population in Latvia cannot and does not always want to seek contact with the Latvian population. You should study the country in which you live and learn the language, then many problems will go away.

Concerning the possibility of the imposition of direct presidential rule, Fedorov noted that it is only the Army or the Communist Party that can really effect this, but the people do not want it and will not allow it. Civil war in the Baltics is impermissible and Russia will try to prevent it. The Russian Government considers that Latvia and the Baltic republics should be sovereign. A new union must be based on voluntary, mutually advantageous principles. In order to follow better the situation in the Baltics and to establish more active contacts with it, Russia proposes to set up information centers in the republics.

Legislature Accuses TASS of Disinformation

LD2201094991 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 0530 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The Latvian legislature has blamed TASS for spreading disinformation about events in Latvia. The TASS report of 19 January citing the so-called All-Latvia Committee for National Salvation statement about a takeover of political power in Latvia bears witness to the fact of disinformation by the USSR official information service, the legislature's statement says. The TASS information is oriented toward disinformation of residents and the destabilization of the situation there. Both the legislature and government continue their work and have sent the documents published by the so-called National Salvation Committee to the prosecutor of the Republic of Latvia for preliminary investigation.

Supreme Council Rejects 'Rumors' on Kaliningrad

LD2201073191

[Editorial Report] Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian at 0201 GMT on 22 January carries a one-minute announcer-read report which says: "Acting on instructions from the leader of the Lithuanian Republic's Legislative-Governmental Commission for holding consultations with the Russian Federation, the Latvian Supreme Council information section is empowered to announce that the rumors disseminated in the TASS report of 21 January 1991 concerning the unification of Kaliningrad Oblast with the Republic of Lithuania bear no resemblance to reality. During the talks, there were no representatives of Kaliningrad Oblast in the delegation from the Russian Federation, and therefore there is no question of their so-called withdrawal from the delegation. We declare that, by disseminating this sort of attack, TASS is pursuing the objective of damaging the friendly relationship between the Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Federation."

Latvian Oil Refinery Fire Halts Production

LD2201144591 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Russian 1218 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] ELTA has received information about a fire at the Mazeikiai oil refinery.

Romualdas Garbenis, deputy head of the production department of the enterprise, told an ELTA correspondent the following: On 21 January at 2308 oil products caught fire at the fuel oil processing section. [passage indistinct] The equipment was stopped and the enterprise fire fighters extinguished the fire roughly within an hour. People working in the section helped the firemen. About 9 km of cables have been destroyed. The installation, which produces gasoline and diesel fuel, will be inoperable for about a week. Other technological installations continue to work at full capacity.

The quantity of refined oil has not declined. It may be that the variety of products will change for a short period of time. The cause of the fire is being investigated.

Estonia

Legislature Urges Gorbachev To Withdraw Forces

LD2201221691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A statement adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Estonia contains an appeal to USSR President Gorbachev to take measures to withdraw the special armed forces subunits from the Baltic republics. These units are the cause of tension, in the opinion of the deputies. The document says that the citizens of Estonia will not yield to provocations and will maintain peace and calm.

True, to judge by the first day in the work of the regular session, the deputies themselves managed to keep calm, but with difficulty. The situation in the session auditorium was predominantly a nervous one, for all that.

Ruutel on Possibility of Baltic Talks

LD2201112491 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Interview with Estonian President Arnold Ruutel by correspondent Jaan Raudsepp, in Moscow on 21 January—live or recorded]

[Text] [Raudsepp] After an hour and a half of discussion with the president and then another with Marshal Yazov, as was claimed, (?neither of them) gave the order for the operations in Lithuania and in Riga.

[Ruutel] As I said here at the news conference, one can no longer pick up the pieces of public opinion, and it is no longer possible to substantiate anything before society. These processes are already taking place independently of anything. And I voiced my opinion that proceeding from this one has to direct the political process in a realistic fashion. That means to resolve finally the Baltic issue; that means, to define the Baltic states' political status.

[Raudsepp] The president has again promised that talks will begin. Can one believe this?

[Ruutel] It seems to me that at present one can. So much has changed in the political sense. If we now go back to last February, with almost a year having passed, then that was when we adopted for the first time a Supreme Soviet resolution, on 23 February, to start talks. Then the word talks was not allowed to be used. And we did not succeed in using it anywhere. It was postponed and postponed and there was talks of [words indistinct]. And this attack was evidently planned by the forces of stagnation in the Baltics after the two-plus-four treaty had been signed. It reached its peak by December and its final stage only now with the events which took place in Vilnius. And evidently those people who planned such a course of events did not foresee how strong the democratic forces would become in Russia and elsewhere in the union. And, of course, such a world reaction was not expected. It was thought that with the events in the Persian Gulf and a possible Iraqi war in particular there is a possibility that the Baltic issue—having been hidden in the shadows or in the bottom drawer for 50 years—can altogether be pushed aside.

And now it seems to me that almost a completely new political situation has arisen in this respect, with a serious return to the Baltic issue, under the true name of top-level talks.

Interregional Council, Government Hold Talks

LD2201062391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0330 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent H. Lenk in Tallinn]

[Excerpts] Good morning from Tallinn! The situation in Estonia remains explosive. Estonian television is carrying constant live broadcasts from Riga. [passage omitted]

Many people fear a repetition in Estonia of the bloody events in Lithuania and Latvia. The talks between the government and the Interregional Council, which includes representatives of the Intermovement, the Communist Party of Estonia on the platform of the CPSU, and others, have so far yielded nothing. For the time being nobody can predict what will happen this afternoon or tomorrow.

Strikes Continue Amidst 'Birth of Democracy'

LD2201092991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0615 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Report from Tallinn by correspondent Andrey Trapeznikov]

[Text] The situation in the republic remains tense. What has been going on these past few days can be summed up in a few words: the agonizing birth of democracy. Whatever problem you take, you end up with the main issue—the issue of power. The resignation of the government, the dissolution of the legislature, and the holding of fresh elections—these are the main demands of the opposition in the Supreme Council, of the leaders of Intermovement, and of the workers' committees which are mounting a strike at the present time. This strike is not petering out. Most industrial enterprises subordinate to the union are not working. As Estonian television reported yesterday evening, as of tomorrow the employees of the republic division of Aeroflot will join the strikers. The rail workers have not yet made a final decision on whether to strike.

The legislature has promised to present its proposals on the demands put forward at a rally on 15 January by the end of this week. But that will be a belated solution, because the rally participants were demanding a response within 24 hours. Anyway, compromise is only possible on economic issues. To opt for a political compromise would mean the legislature giving up its powers which were granted to it by the majority of the electorate. And, as Arnold Ruutel, head of the Supreme Council, told me, congress is hardly likely to agree to this.

Now the leislature is doing all it can to safeguard iself against pressure and interference from the center. A statement on events in the Baltics was adopted at yesterday's session. In particular, it contains a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet which states that the tension in Estonia is not a conflict between the Russian and Estonian peoples. It is political causes that lie at the heart of the problem. The deputies called on the Supreme Soviet to make the president of the Soviet Union take steps to head off any use of armed forces on the territory of the republic, and also—at a legislative level—to adopt the decision to ban Intermovement's Radio Nadezhda from broadcasting from the territory of a military unit. Its activity is not deemed to be constitutional by the Estonian legislature.

As yesterday's session showed once again, it has so far proved impossible to achieve dialogue between the legislative majority—which is in favor of the creation of an independent and sovereign state and which enjoys the support of the majority of the republic's populace—and the opposition. But on the other hand, there is no way out of the crisis without this dialogue. For after all, tens of thousands of those Russian speakers and Estonians who want the republic to remain within the Union cannot just be deported from the republic. To put it graphically, there are two sources of boiling water in Estonia's political kitchen today. Moreover, both of these claim supremacy for their viewpoints. As yet they have had no interaction or close contact. But this state of affairs cannot last for long. Either the water will go cold, or else the two sources will flow together, in which case we will have a huge boiling cauldron. And the boiling water of political passion will inevitably scald the souls of thousands upon thousands of people in this small republic. Will Estonia really have to sacrifice human lives at the altar of democracy, as in Latvia and Lithuania? Today, alas, there is no answer to this question.

[Announcer] Andrey, you have spoken about a political cauldron and political boiling water, but what is the crime situation like? What was it like last night? We know two shots were fired the previous night. What about now?

[Trapeznikov] Actually, there were two explosions the previous night. I have no information at hand as to whether there were any explosions last night, but yesterday evening Estonian television reported that the situation is growing more acute. A number of establishments—kindergartens and schools—have taken phone calls warning that bombs have been planted. When the militia has gone to investigate, fortunately so far these alarms have proved to be hoaxes. But I would repeat: The situation remains explosive, and all it would need is a little spark to send up this situation. Yesterday, film was shown on the strike at the Dvigatel works where there was a thousands-strong crowd of people milling about. I repeat: So far there is no sign of any contact between the two forces in Estonia—on the one hand the legislative majority and the government, and on the other the opposition.

Factory Workers Form 'Combat Squads'

LD2201133791 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] [Passage indistinct] announced that they have been betrayed both by Moscow as well as by Leningrad, and that they themselves will have to start fighting. For this purpose workers' combat squads are beginning to be formed at the Dvigatel [Union-administered factory in Tallinn] and also women have been invited to join. Today, at 1300 there will be a joint visit to Manniku firing range for firing practice. One can conclude from this that arms have also been set aside for these workers' squads.

It was claimed at the rally at the Dvigatel that tomorrow strikes will become more extensive in Estonia, and that there will be fighting to a victorious end.

Estonia, Iceland Condemn Attacks on Latvia

LD2201101191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1857 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jan (TASS)—Today, Estonia's permanent mission in Moscow circulated a statement by the foreign ministers of Estonia and Iceland in which they condemn "the use of Soviet Armed Forces against the peaceful population and the government of the Latvian Republic." The ministers who met in Tallinn, the Estonian capital, had in mind the clashes between the Special Purpose Militia Unit [OMON] of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and Latvian militia which took place in Riga last night. They think that the USSR's actions in the Baltic will "have far-reaching consequences for the further development of events in Europe, and for European peoples' desire to cooperate with the Soviet Union and give financial and economic aid to the USSR's leadership."

Paratroopers Claim Discrimination in Voru District

LD2201141491 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Interview with Aare Urm, chairman of the Voru District Council, by correspondent Georg Pelisaar; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Pelisaar] Aare Urm, chairman of the Voru District Council, I know that you have made several attempts to form contacts with a close-lying paratroop unit and their commanders. What is your success so far?

[Urm] Yes, we are in a somewhat different position compared with other districts because the two units here came from Germany just over two years ago and their understanding of the Estonian frame of mind and the situation is undoubtedly different from those who have been here for any length of time. And for that reason, contacts are particularly important in order to have even eye contact, to look each other in the eye and read what one or the other side wants.

[Pelisaar] Are the paratroop commanders beginning to understand that there is no kind of a danger to them from the Estonian people?

[Urm] Yes, we talk away for, say, three hours and they seem to believe it. On the following day or the day after the story begins again that this [discrimination] is going on and they seem to have irrefutable evidence even though the evidence has never been produced. But seriously, they still believe it and we also promised to them an appearance on our local radio—we have never set down any prohibitions here to anybody—and this appearance was a concentrated summary of everything that the Intermovement has been reproaching the people of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia here in the Baltics over the years. Well, it was spiced up a bit with lies and disinformation such as this is carried out. All the claims which have been presented to us have been refuted with documents. There are no facts about discrimination in respect of the families of the military in our district, and if anything at all depends on us, there won't be any either. Yet they have one single demand which we cannot accept in any way at all. It is their persistent insistence that in our Voru District the USSR Constitution and presidential decrees should be recognized.

[Pelisaar] Today we are indeed facing a situation where we have to defend ourselves and our buildings. It seems to me that we should also partially defend various kinds of buildings which in one way or another are connected either with all-Union enterprises or with military townlets.

[Urm] We have taken measures of our own. Even today we have informed the military commissar and commanders of military units as well as the local [KGB] of the news we have received. For several days already—for almost a week—there has been a night patrol in their military townlet which they introduced. It is operating. We have been to see it at night for ourselves. There is some hope that at least in the areas where the patrol is operating no kind of violent events should take place.

Estonian Offer of Help for Military Noted

PM2301100791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Colonel V. Strelkov under "Direct Line" rubric: "E. Savisaar Promised Assistance to Military"]

[Text] Tallinn—Despite some progress in the resolution of questions of drafting young people for active military service, the draft is continuing to be sabotaged in individual areas of Estonia. The population is still being intimidated with threats of a military coup.

However, there are also some positive examples. It is gratifying that they have recently been coming from the local authorities. Thus, 17 January E. Savisaar, chairman of the government, visited a motorized infantry combined unit situated on the republic's territory. He was given the opportunity to familiarize himself with the miserable—to put it bluntly—living conditions of the families of officers and warrant officers and hear their grievances.

Savisaar assured the people who had gathered at a meeting that his visit is only one particular episode in the government program for studying the military's status. The military's problems will be discussed by the government in the middle of February, he said. There was no discussion of general political questions at the meeting.

Meanwhile the local press is continuing to stir up the theme of an impending military coup. And this is happening despite the fact that Vice Admiral Yu. Belov, chief of the Tallinn Garrison, R. Pyder, the republic military commissar, and other military personnel have repeatedly refuted these conjectures on the radio and in the newspapers.

A Constituent Defense Council has already been created in Estonia and the "Kaitseliit" [Estonian Defense Union] and "Kodukaitse" [home guard] organizations are operating. And now a new action has been undertaken to the accompaniment of loud rumors—the mobilization of assault forces from the reserve "for possible resistance to aggression." On 17 January SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA published an appeal for them to report to the so-called republic and district departments of the state and border defense.

Other important events during these days in the republic include the continuing hunger strike by People's Deputies S. Petinov and V. Lebedev. "We hope to eventually see a reaction from the international community to this desperate step. After all, after almost one year of work in parliament we have not been heard here anyway," the latter told journalists.

On 18 January, rallies were held at the majority of union enterprises where support from the striking collectives at the "Dvigatel," "Prompribor," "Volta," and other plants was announced, as well as a possible general political strike.

Hunger Strikes Instigate Examination of Laws

LD2301091291 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 23 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn January 23 TASS—All Estonian laws adopted since 1989 will be sent for international legal examination, the Estonian parliament ruled on Tuesday.

This action was initiated by Estonian Lawmakers Sergey Petinov and Vladimir Lebedev, who went on hunger strike on January 17. Its aim is to establish guarantees to observe human rights in Estonia.

During this action, Petinov and Lebedev suspended their legislative activities and are conducting the strike on the premises of the Estonian parliament. Their move triggered a chain of so-called alternative hunger strikes in Estonia, which were staged in protest against Lebedev's and Petinov's strike.

Deputies Johannes Kass and Enn Tuppa also could not withstand the lure of the headlines: They also began an alternative hunger strike in the auditorium of the Estonian parliament, on the government benches.

Legislators now fear that the parliamentary hall may turn into a place for political demonstrations rather than a place for legislative activities.

A proposal was made to adopt an act, under which the parliamentary building should be used only for legislative deliberations.

Estonian Party Officials Discuss Upcoming Congress

LD2201153191 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] At noon today Enn-Arno Sillari and Harri Roots, Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee secretaries, met with journalists at the Central Committee to discuss the Communist Party of Estonia 21st congress, due to take place on 26 January. It was announced that 287 delegates have been elected to attend. The documents of the congress have been prepared and are being discussed at the moment. As a result of the congress the party should become constitutional. It will adopt a constitution and membership cards will be issued.

It was noted that the congress is taking place at a complex time, with events having taken a grave turn. Conferences in Riga of the three Baltic parties upon the CPSU Platform undoubtedly influence the political situation in the Baltics, because such conferences are followed by events in a precise and coordinated manner. Claims sounded at the latest conference that there is intention to succeed with their own forces and hints at a revolutionary situation rising are ominous. It was emphasized that at the moment it is essential not to give way to provocations.

Simultaneously with the meeting, the anniversary of Lenin's death was being celebrated. Representatives of the pro-CPSU Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, Tallinn garrison, and party and war veterans were at the momument. Pavel Panfilov and Rear-Admiral (?Petnev) placed flowers at the foot of the monument.

Baltic Servicemen Express 'Indignation' to Yeltsin

PM2201091391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 91 First Edition p 3

["Appeal from Baltic Military District Servicemen to the Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet"—KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] We are disappointed and angry, and we express our indignation at your appeal to Baltic Military District servicemen drafted from Russia. We realize that it was an appeal not only to us but to the country's Armed Forces in general.

What do we want to say about your appeal? It produced in us a sense of the most profound disappointment that you—such a highly placed political leader—should reject the policy of realism and common sense in favor of personal political ambition and play into the hands of an escalation of interethnic strife and the disintegration of the USSR.

We are angry that on your second trip to the Baltic you did not deign to meet with any of those whose interests you allegedly intend to uphold.

Why did you not visit a single military garrison? Why did you not meet with a single soldier, warrant officer, officer, or members of their families? We are convinced that, had you done so, you would have taken a more thoughtful and critical approach to many of the points in your statement.

We are even prepared to suggest the following: In order to be totally objective and to find out how things are with us, let your family spend just one week in a Baltic Military District garrison under the same conditions as everyone else [na obshchikh osnovaniyakh]. Let them find out about the cold, the lack of basic human housing, the chronic food shortages, the daily persecution, and the moral and psychological terror which we face from your friends—the born-again [novoyavlennyy] "democrats."

We are profoundly convinced that your wife—who you yourself have said is used to spartan conditions—would not last even a day.

Things are reaching the point where soldiers and their families, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, are inviting their commanders' families to their own homes, promising to feed them and warm them up. But clearly you do not wish to know about all this.

That is why we are expressing our indignation and want to state the following:

1. Baltic Military District servicemen are profoundly convinced that the USSR Armed Forces have been, are, and will continue to be the defenders of their people and the guarantors of a stable situation and a peaceful life for the country and the republics of the Soviet Baltic.

2. We would very much like you to finally make one thing clear. We are not the ones violating the USSR Constitution, we are not the ones violating human rights, we are not the ones sowing interethnic strife. These things are being done by those whose hands you shook and to whom you promised all possible support on behalf of long-suffering Russia.

3. We emphasize that our presence in the Baltics is in fulfillment of our military and constitutional duty, which unites servicemen not only from Russia but from all corners of our multinational country. And you will not succeed in shaking our cohesion and friendship.

We will be loyal to the USSR Constitution and the military oath.

4. We are well aware of the political aims and far-reaching designs of your appeal. Whenever the latest exacerbation of the crisis occurs, political leaders set their sights on the Army in an attempt to win its support. You are no exception. You are now guided by the interests of the servicemen drafted from Russia. You are already aiming to set up your own army. We want to ask you: Whom will it defend and from what adversary?

You will not provide any sincere answer to this question, but the answer is no secret to us.

Do not hope to be able to turn us into an obedient tool in your political aspirations. You do not represent the opinion of all of Russia. We hope that the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviets will make a genuine political assessment of your words and actions in the Baltic.

[Signed] On behalf of Baltic Military District servicemen, the Coordinating Center of the Union of Baltic Servicemen: Lieutenant Colonel A.A. Avdeyev, Lieutenant Colonel Ye.M. Malikov, Major L.V. Aleshin, Major V.Ye. Lukin, Junior Sergeant Yu.B. Ladnyuk, Private A.G. Muravyev, Private L.G. Zvezdov, Private O.R. Khabibulin, Private S.A. Kirilenko, and more than 800 others.

'Expert' Says Baltics Provoked Army Intervention

LD2201103291 Hamburg DPA in German 0924 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Tutzing (DPA)—Soviet East-West expert Lev Semeyko of the United States and Canada Institute in Moscow, has accused the political leaders of the Baltic states of having provoked the intervention by the Soviet Army. The conflict in the Baltic states was caused by the desire of these countries "to leave the USSR in a nonconstitutional manner," Semeyko said on Monday evening at the Evangelical Academy in Tutzing. He also criticized the bloody action by the troops in Vilnius and Riga. The Army had acted "inappropriately."

Semeyko rejected rumors of a possible power takeover by the military in Moscow. Admittedly, Mikhail Gorbachev's situation is at present "very unstable," but events in the Baltic states do not represent a signal for a military coup and a return to Stalinism: "So much has happened in our country that the old forces will not be able to return."

KGB Defector: Baltic Operations Preplanned

LD2201141791 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The violent actions of the Soviet special troops in Lithuania and Latvia came as no surprise. Military counteractions against the Baltic republics have been prepared in secret for at least two years, and what we now see is only the beginning. (Vladimir Grigoryev) stated this to this program. He is a KGB agent who defected and is now hiding in a Stockholm suburb.

Two years ago I received information from a highly placed KGB officer in Tallinn, who said that perestroyka was to be used by the KGB as camouflage to advance the KGB positions in the West, and also to prepare a change in the entire policy, in our case in the Baltics. This change could come as soon as two or three years' time, that is, during 1990 or 1991. This is stated by (Vladimir Grigoryev), who worked for the KGB for 12 years, the first six years in Leningrad, and then six years, until two years ago, in the Baltics. It was his job to infiltrate religious and political movements, those which now hold the increasingly fragile democratic power in the three Baltic republics. Two years ago he fled to Sweden, via Finland.

The Soviet leadership needs no provocations to intervene in the Baltics. It has already decided to stop the democratization and the liberation of the Baltics. They will now gradually dissolve parliament after parliament and introduce direct presidential rule from Moscow. It is practically impossible that Gorbachev should now have known what was happening. The paratroopers who were sent in are part of the strategic special, or Spetsnaz, units which are directly led by the leadership of the General Staff in Moscow, and Gorbachev is the country's supreme commander. With regard to the elite forces of the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Black Berets, they are led in the same way by Gorbachev's own government.

In addition, there are the KGB's own special units in the Baltics which have not yet been identified in the unrest. They number several thousand men in the three republics. The Army is no longer relied upon in Moscow; many units refuse to carry out given orders. So the Internal Affairs Ministry troops are sent, but now the divisions are showing even there.

(Grigoryev) continues: The day before yesterday the pro-Moscow troops, Black Berets, stormed their armed

colleagues at the Latvian Interior Ministry in Riga. And now one can see splits also within the KGB. In Lithuania there are right now two KGB groupings: one that is on the side of the Lithuanians, and the other that takes orders only from the Kremlin. But the latter has been devoted increasingly to infiltrating all Baltic reform bodies of any importance, says (Vladimir Grigoryev), a man with 12 years' experience as KGB agent, six of which were in the Baltics, with infiltration of just these Baltic reform bodies as his speciality.

Press Attache to Stockholm Interviewed on Baltics

LD2201130591 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1130 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] [Announcer] The Soviet ambassador to Sweden, Nikolay Uspenskiy, called on Foreign Minister Sten Andersson yesterday and (?conveyed) a message that Sweden and other Western countries should not make statements that could increase tension in the Baltic. Mikhail Skupov, Soviet press attache in Stockholm, explains to correspondent Willy Silberstein:

[Begin recording] [Skupov, in Swedish] The Soviet leadership calls on everyone to show a responsible attitude and to refrain from statements or other steps which may contribute to a dangerous agitation with regard to Lithuania, and the Baltics in their entirety.

[Silberstein] What kind of statements are you thinking of?

[Skupov] I think that this comment applies to all possible steps that do not contribute to a calming down of the situation.

[Silberstein] But is it the task of an embassy to go to a government and say that it should not say what it thinks?

[Skupov] It is the task of an embassy to fulfil the tasks given to it by its government. It is exactly what the embassy is doing.

[Silberstein] But is it not a peculiar attitude adopted by Moscow whereby they tell the governments of other countries not to say what they think?

[Skupov] There has never been any direct request to any government not to say anything. We have quite simply explained our view of how it would be desirable to react toward the Baltics and to the events there.

[Silberstein] Is this not an attempt to muzzle the Swedish Government?

[Skupov] It is an interpretation which I would never sign.

[Silberstein] Do you think that the unrest in the Baltic is due, among other things, to statements by the Western countries?

[Skupov] No comment.

[Silberstein] Do you think it is wrong for Sweden to send Undersecretary of State [for Foreign Affairs] Pierre Schori to the Baltic states?

[Skupov] We set out from the premise that Sweden has a responsible attitude in its reaction toward the Baltic.

[Silberstein] If Sweden continues to make statements—which you think increase tension—can if affect relations between the countries?

[Skupov] No comment. [end recording]

RSFSR

Legislature Continues Work in Committees 23 Jan

LD2201224191 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2100 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] The Russian legislature will continue its work in committees and commissions today [23 January]. Over 30 bills have been submitted for deputies' consideration. They deal with economic reform, national-state organization, the reorganization of bodies of state power and local self-government, the social protection for citizens during the changeover to the market, and also the implementation of the revival of the Russian countryside program.

Yeltsin Addresses RSFSR Officials 22 Jan

LD2201145891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—Chairman of the Russian legislature Boris Yeltsin has called for the improvement of the system of local authorities and for their structural reorganization.

Replying today to questions from participants in the All-Russian conference of heads of soviets of people's deputies and executive committees of soviets taking place here, he voiced a number of thoughts concerning both the role of bodies of Soviet power and the economic situation in the republic. He noted the need for the process that has been started of transferring Union enterprises situated on the territory of Russia to the republic's jurisdiction to be completed.

Boris Yeltsin briefed participants in the conference on the economic agreements signed by the heads of the Union republics and the country's president. In his words, circulation of the text of this document "would be unethical" since not all the Union republics have so far signed this agreement. He said that the first real result of Russian sovereignty was the recognition by the center of the budget put together by the republic itself and not determined by the Union leadership.

Boris Yeltsin noted that in accordance with decisions of the Russian legislature, local authorities will gain broad freedom of action in such important public matters as price formation.

Yeltsin Address Detailed

LD2201221791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 22 Jan 91

[From the "Legislative Diary" program presented by Aleksandr Kuvinskiy]

[Excerpts] Today at the House of Soviets on Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya, the chairman of the Soviet of People's Deputies and of their executive bodies of different levels gathered. [passage omitted]

The meeting was opened by Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin. He noted that one of the most important issues at this meeting should be the sovereignty proclaimed by individual territories. It has been proclaimed, but there is no further progress. This is our view, said Boris Yeltsin.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Taking into account the fact that the Union treaty will still take a certain time, and the events in the Baltic republics have postponed it, I think, for several months—because in actual fact the republics do not have a great desire to agree to such a diktat from the center voluntarily—we must move stage by stage to be the first, let's say; the Russian Socialist Federated Republic [RSFSR] should be the first to sign an agreement with the Union on the division of functions. This is why, of course, the commission was set up; it was set up during the time of the Council of Ministers of the Union which is no longer operating. The new one, the Cabinet, is still not functioning either. However, our Council of Ministers and its chairman Ivan Stepanovich Silayev should already be involved in this process and should already be cooperating with the Cabinet. The first stage to pass on the path toward that Union treaty is the division of the functions of the Union and the Russian Federation.

The second stage is to divide the property. At present this is a very difficult process. What are the enterprises to do? Who should they turn to? On the one hand, to the Union, but they see a very great paralysis in the authority of the Union government. On the other hand, the Russian law on taxation, on tax rates on profits—38 percent instead of the Union one of 45 percent is also enticing. But there is some doubt about how all the material and technical supplies will be organized, as well as the conclusion of contracts, and so on and so forth. We have still not defined the very mechanism for transfering these enterprises from Union level to the jurisdiction of Russia. Naturally the RSFSF Council of Ministers should submit it as quickly as possible so that the Supreme Soviet can confirm this mechanism. After that, both the tax policy and the social protection will be under the name, so to speak, of the Russian Federation; and the government and the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation will assume responsibility.

In defense of the budget, I should say that it is a budget which has for the first time in many decades been drawn up by Russia itself, by its government and Suprem Soviet, for the first time; only a fixed sum was allocated to the Union budget. The 23.4 billion [rubles] that we have defined by our law at the Supreme Soviet was also accepted. We believe that this is perhaps the first real evidence of the sovereignty of Russia—the first real one. [end recording] [passage omitted]

I must tell you of yet another report that we have just received from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, from the Committee for Human Rights. Deputies from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Sergey Adamovich Kovalev, chairman of the Committee for Human Rights, who flew to Stepanakert today, were detained at the airport and thrown out of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Silayev on Gorbachev's Monetary Reform Decree

LD2301120191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1124 GMT 23 Jan 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Boris Zverev and Lev Aksenov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 Jan (TASS)—The head of the government of Russia, the largest republic in the USSR, has stated that until the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet adopts a decision tomorrow on the USSR president's decree removing from circulation 50- and 100-ruble banknotes, and restrictions on issuing cash from deposits to citizens and local bodies of power in the republic, instructions have been issued to act in accordance with the decree.

Speaking today at an expanded session of the Republic's Council of Ministers, Ivan Silayev announced that the Russian Government has in the past few hours been receiving from various regions of the republic "the most varied reports on the reaction of the population to the presidential decree, from the extremely alarmed to the relatively favorable."

The head of the Councils of Ministers stated that "telegrams have been sent to the localities with explanations of how the local bodies of power are to work in the next 24 hours until a decision has been adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet."

Ivan Silayev said the position of the government of Russia will be elaborated by 1500 [1200 GMT] today. He added that "of course, this position will not be an explosive one; people just have to be told how to act."

Silayev Interviewed on Russian Economy

LD2001123191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0915 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Interview with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, by correspondent Yelena Ozrina on the "Topical Interview" program; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Ozrina] What is in store for the people of Russia? I have in mind concrete questions affecting specific

individuals. Will the food situation improve? Will there be an improvement in industrial goods? When will promises become something real that we can rely on?

[Silayev] Well, I cannot say to the people of Russia that all their troubles and hardships ended with the closing of 1990. There will be a tense situation, and the decisions made earlier will not produce results immediately. Well, at least I can say that at a minimum, things won't get worse, that today we have already formed plans and programs for ensuring that the population is supplied with main items of food which will enable us to prevent hunger, the fear of which is so much in the air.

[Ozrina] But tell me, won't these plans and programs again remain just that? What, concretely...

[Silayev, interrupting] You know, we are not saying the situation will be thus and thus. We have already made certain procurements abroad. We have already signed contracts for deliveries of meat and vegetable oil. Contracts have been signed with Canadian firms for three million tonnes of grain, and some of that grain will be used for combined feedstuffs. That is also a very important question, connected directly and immediately with the production of meat, poultry, and cattle meat; in other words, we are already doing concrete work and will ensure a planned balance which will enable us at least to maintain at the same level the actual norms for the main food items which we had last year and not let them fall despite the fact that prices are rising. We have got our main producers—both the collective farms and the private farms—seriously interested in delivering meat under the sales tax. In general, that work is going ahead very seriously. On the whole, I have not only the feeling, but the confidence that we certainly will not allow a situation to arise in which famine will set in. But for grain and bread, there's no question at all. And if there is something somewhere, it is inefficiency and laxity on the part of the local bodies. There is enough grain, flour, and bread for our Russians to have nothing to worry about.

[Ozrina] Do you think the black market, the shadow economy, takes away a lot of foodstuffs from the population?

[Silayev] Certainly the black market seriously deforms normal supplies and it must be acknowledged that this is indeed so. The fact that there are at present in our country very significant gaps between the level of state retail prices and market prices definitely acts as a broad nutritive medium for the shadow economy. We can sense and see this and the citizens too can see it. Therefore, this key issue is now becoming urgent and is a matter of concern for everyone. Nevertheless, spontaneous price changes are occurring, upwards unfortunately, and there can be no other way for the time being. Our people sense this and are protesting against it. In this respect it is very important to correctly organize all the work of the government and government policy in order to halt this spontaneous process of price increases and the corresponding lowering of the real level of earnings. We have already experienced how the people have reacted to this by the example of the Baltic republics and also in a number of towns and oblasts of the Russian Federation, where attempts simply to introduce directives for higher prices without any compensation are not understood and cannot be understood by an ordinary citizen.

This is why understanding that energetic intervention is needed, and perhaps, as our citizens have been saying, we are already late in doing this. We will, nevertheless, in the very near future complete the drafting of measures to provide very significant anticipatory action in the form of increases in the earnings of our citizens of all categories—ranging from pensioners, students, and invalids to citizens in normal work and earning their incomes—to protect them against price increases. I think we will fully complete this work during the month of February. Our citizens may rest assured that we will complete the preparation of the whole set of measures in February.

Nevertheless, we think prices will have to be changed in order to prevent this mafia-style mushrooming of the shadow economy, but we guarantee that by some anticipatory action prior to the changes in organized prices we will ensure appropriate payments, or rather, not appropriate payments but payments that fully compensate all sections of the population with respect to foodstuffs.

[Ozrina] This, after all, is understandable since, in general, wholesale prices for many goods and resources have risen. This means that realistically there will be an increase in retail prices too. This is an inevitable process. But what specifically can the Russian government do from the viewpoint of compensation, and what are your forecasts nevertheless regarding retail price increases?

[Silayev] I would like, however, to deal with a matter of current interest.

[Ozrina] Certainly.

[Silayev] You mentioned new wholesale prices. This matter has already now been transformed in that the manufacturers of products—this applies particularly to light industry and the producers of household appliances—no longer want to sell at the old purchase prices to the shops; they do not want to supply at the old prices since their own costs have risen. Our ministries of trade do not have sufficient means to buy things at their new prices while at the same time preserving old prices for the population. We arrived at a decision and signed such an instruction yesterday according to which our Ministry of Trade will start concluding contracts for the delivery of, I would say, light industry, textile, and everyday goods to our shops, already taking account of new wholesale prices. But, those goods will be sold to the population at their previous prices. We envisage a relevant compensation for the Ministry of Trade from our budget. This aim is complicated, of course, but our budget allows us to find such possibilities that we will be using for a certain period of time until we have introduced this whole system I was telling you about.

[Ozrina] So, in other words, it is that very compensation, real compensation, that can help common people. Where are the guarantees that necessary raw materials will be provided for industry?

[Silayev] I would attach another meaning to guarantees, and would not address them to everyone. Those things we were just talking about, such as providing guarantees that our consumers are protected, especially those that are on low salaries, and wider groups of our population as well; here we ought to have guarantees and we provide them. As for the provision of guarantees that one plant concludes a contract with another one...[changes thought] or maybe this particular plant sits back expecting the center to do something for it, in which case we will not provide any guarantees of this sort on the conditions of the market. Already the beginning of this year shows some, I would have said, stratification. Those who see themselves as entrepreneurs, those who already realize that they should start moving toward the market—and the market envisages the necessity of direct cooperation between consumers and suppliers, the search for new ties, the introduction of new direct contacts—those people, as a rule, are not doing so badly, even nowadays. Exchanges are emerging. You hear about this.

[Ozrina] Of course.

[Silayev] They are being set up rather successfully in many of Russia's regions. It is also an element of the market. But, it is an instrument characteristic of market relations between suppliers and consumers, I mean, of industrial and technical production.

So, there are two trends that can be distinguished today. One of them is in the style of the old customary norms, when an entrepreneur expects to be told what to do and to be given more people. He will then go and obtain them. If he fails to get them he will go back to the center. Things are not going well for this category. They stay passive, waiting for something instead of actively working with their traditional suppliers. The other category includes—and I could cite many examples in the second category—entrepreneurs who have begun to show initiative. These enterprises do not stay passive, waiting or hoping for something. They actively interact with their partners.

Of course, in spheres such as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's social sphere there is demand for a municipal economy in each city, and particularly there is demand for the production of consumer goods, which directly determines whether consumer goods do or do not exist or whether there is a consumer market in general. We take upon ourselves the weight of the responsibility for providing support, and one of our relevent committee is working on this to ensure that enterprises manufacturing consumer goods will have powerful support from the state as regards supplies of raw materials and prefabricated goods and so on.

[Ozrina] What I meant to ask is this: After all, it is not a secret that in our country many enterprises hold monopolies on the production of various items or products. I can cite the recent well-known example of the filters manufactured in Armenia. Can an enterprise which holds a monopoly in the production of certain materials or certain items inflate prices as much as it wishes and exploit its monopoly to its own end?

[Silayev] Of course it can if the state does not have a firm say on the subject. We have recently considered the question of setting up a tax inspectorate in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. It will begin to function in February. There are certain normatives which envisage a limit on rises of prices for various goods in proportion to the level of profitability. The so-called superprofits for example are being taxed and fully confiscated by the state.

In this respect it is very important to introduce state regulation in addition, of course, to economic incentives to stimulate the market. We must and we will put a halt to exploitation of a monopoly position by certain enterprises. Monopolies must not lead to unrestrained price rises. We encourage quantative increases. Our budget contains appropriate articles which are designed to stimulate increases in the production of consumer goods, through tax benefits and discounts. In this regard I would like to say that we do not believe that the main and only method is to design ways to make timely payments and compensations and to give support.

Anyway, we think that one of our main tasks is to figure out how we can set conditions for the production of a larger number of goods than we have today. That is why we have an interesting program supporting and providing mighty benefits for the agrarian sector and all the industrial sector which is working for the population. We have allocated 12 billion, I repeat this, from Russia's budget in order to provide economic encouragement for any enterprise or a person if they are working for the consumers. That is why we are defending our Russian budget so persistently, actively, and, I would have said, fiercly, the budget which was endorsed at the end of last year. And we will not go back on even one ruble because then we will not have been able to fulfill our obligations to our citizens.

[Ozrina] Thank you. I wish you luck.

Silayev Addresses Legislature on Budgetary Issues

LD2301100691 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 1948 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Speech by Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Ivan Stepanovich Silayev at RSFSR Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 22 January—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, as Boris Nikolayevich has said, we will discuss in detail the main problems and tasks, including, primarily, the issues of interaction of the functioning of our whole economy in 1991, at a full

meeting of the Council of Ministers with the participation of chairmen of the republican councils of ministers and executive bodies of krays, oblast and autonomies at 1000 tomorrow. Tomorrow we will also submit very important draft documents relating to ensuring the functioning of the economy along market lines. We at the Supreme Soviet must defend about 25 draft laws and resolutions of the Supreme Soviet. Today 12 have already been submitted, thereby providing a certain leeway. We will circulate some of them among the participants tomorrow so that they, too, can ponder upon this and voice their views. Perhaps, they will consult their comrades in legislative bodies and we will be grateful if, within short time limits, corresponding considerations will be voiced.

Also tomorrow we will distribute the decision which has been adopted—and Boris Nikolayevich has spoken about that—on the fact that a mass movement of individual enterprises, associations and concerns leaving the Union structures is under way today, but they do not have a clear-cut idea of what they will look like and what they need in order to gain a legal foothold within the structure of the Russian Federation's national economy. We have adopted such a decision. We will distribute it to everybody. It contains provisions and methodology of how one should proceed in order to be under the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation. There are two issues there for which we need to get confirmation from the Supreme Soviet. We reckon that this will be done. Therefore, now we have quite a strict time limit. Permit me to dwell on very important issues that require both your attention and support and, undoubtedly, our cooperation in order not only to maintain a certain level in 1991, an extremely complicated year, but also to lay the foundations for improving our economy.

So, at the beginning, I will say, however, a few words about 1990. One has to know the negative part of our activity, as it were. I will give you literally several figures.

The Russian Federation's produced national income dropped by 5.5 percent instead of showing the expected growth of 2 percent. Despite the marked growth of consumer goods production—6.8 percent of growth—the volume of unsatisfied consumer demand exceeded R128 billion. In the comparable prices of 1983, the volume of gross agricultural output dropped by 3 percent. In 1990 meat production dropped by 0.5 percent, milk by 0.6 percent, wool by 3 percent, and eggs by 4 percent. There was a considerable underfulfillment of plan targets for most important areas of the social sphere, such as the commissioning of housing, social amenities and so on.

So, we have to be aware of the fact that 1990 was a year of worsening economic situation in the republic. As a matter of fact, this is shaping certain forecasts and expectations, on the one hand, and necessary measures, on the other hand, for 1991. From the very start, one should say that we, all our bodies and the Council of Ministers as a whole, have worked quite a lot with the territories, with the executive bodies of the territories, though not enough, perhaps. Therefore, I would like to give you, as estimates, a number of figures. These figures take into account opinions from the localities.

Unfortunately, gross national product is expected to be lower than the 1990 level by, approximately, 2.2 percent. This includes national income—I have said that national income dropped by 5.5 percent in 1990—it will drop by another 3 percent: In accordance with the forecast, it will amount to 97 percent. Industrial production is expected to be at last year's level with a small decimal point. The A group will amount to 99.6 and the B group to 104.2 percent. Agricultural production will be 109.1 percent. I am giving estimates, comrades; we cannot plan categorically or issue any directives in the traditional classical style.

I would like to remind you, comrades, that the Russian Federation has the most deformed economy from the point of view of the correlation between the production of means of production and the production of consumers goods. In this we practically rank the last. We produce 25 percent of consumer goods and 75 percent of means of production, that is, raw materials, equipment, machinery, instruments, and so on. As you see, compared to the world correlation, it is the other way around there: In advanced developed countries the volume of consumer goods production and work for the consumer market account for 75 percent. We plan to change the correlation by two percent in 1991: to decrease production in the A group by two percent and to increase by about two percent the production of consumer goods.

I would like to say especially that we are certainly alarmed by a very serious lag in the purchases and deliveries to republican and Union republican funds of staple food products last year, considering that it was a very interesting year distinguished by a good harvest; I will speak about that somewhat later.

Here are some words in addition to what Boris Nikolayevich said. Regarding the budget: Yes, indeed, in accordance with the USSR Ministry of Finance's calculations, the budget of the Russian Federation and the budget of the Latvian Republic can and could be balanced by calculations [raschetno]. Well, I cannot speak about the Latvian budget, this is their business. Calculations for our budget have been, indeed, balanced, with expenditure exceeding revenue by about R10 billion. I understand the noise in the audience. We are now working together on the budgets and we have been instructed to continue with this work, and we have to definitively dot all the 'i's both regarding the budget revenue and expenditure by 15 February. Such a decision was adopted by the Supreme Soviet and, naturally, active work with regions and territories started. Of course, it is not simple but I would like to mention, comrades, that this is our budget. Among its prominent features are the following: Unlike previous years, when we used to get something from the union and what was collected from territories used to be forwarded to the

USSR central bank, and only then did we get corresponding figures, this year all charges pass through our state bank. To be more precise, all charges will fully pass through our state bank and its branches on territories as of 1 February. This is very important.

First, there is this fixed figure which Boris Nikolayevich mentioned—R23.4 billion for Union functions; true, they have not yet been formed definitively. Once could argue that this is not very much, or, most likely, too much, but we have eventually failed to attain full delimitation. This has been mentioned and this is one of our most important tasks, to act resolutely and to attain this delimitation of functions, at least between the Russian Federation and the center.

I would like to tell you, comrades, that the fact that we have defended turnover tax is, certainly, a great achievement. In essence, the main stir, including at the congress, too, was when, without studying the figures or the formulation, we were subjected to a powerful attack. The main argument was about turnover tax there. There were many other clauses there, too, but that was the main point. And the fact that we fully retain turnover tax is our great achievement. It is another matter that it is distributed unevenly within Russia—here we take into account specifics of territories, autonomies and republics. From 70 to 100 percent of turnover tax is left to the territories.

I would like to say, comrades, that our budget is our first try, as it were; maybe it is not perfect yet and this is certainly so, and you have quite a few questions. It is distinguished by a very pronounced social coloring. I would like to mention only our four directions. The agro-industrial complex is the first one. For the time being, an increase of 43 percent in funding the agro-industrial complex has been envisaged in our budget, including a 2.5-fold increase for constructing children's establishments and housing for teachers, doctors, culture and school workers; for gasification, 2.5-fold; for electrification 32 percent and so on.

It is very important that, although everything is very tense, despite our severe problems, and these still remain, in three spheres of the budget—education, culture and health—we have managed to find R4.5 billion in the budget to raise salaries. That means we have included an average wage increase of 25 percent. This includes about 20 percent for education, about the same for health, and for the cultural sphere, which includes those who work in houses of culture, clubs, the very highest creative category, an increase of 39 percent. In all, we have envisaged a increase of R12 billion or 28 percent in the expenditure on these three spheres; in expenditure, not wages.

I would like to say that in the process of the work with the territories—with you—our revenue was reduced by R1.5 billion and our expenditures were increased by R9 billion. Well, of course, the territories demanded and requested that we should have reduced our revenue and even further, increased our expenditure. But I do not think that that is not where the skill lies. We have practiced this skill too long. And our skill, starting from the chairman of the Council of Ministers and ending with any of our territories, any of my colleagues who are leaders of the government in the republic of the Russian Federation, is the skill to draw up and to fulfill without fail both the revenue and the expenditure parts, particularly the revenue part.

I shall not give any further assessment of any of our articles. I would like to say once again to those who who still recall and are wondering whether we are ruining the collective and state farms for the benefit of the farms run by farmers: I would remind you, esteemed comrades, that in the budget of the RSFSR for the coming year, this 1 billion which we have spoken about—and this 1 billion is envisaged to support the farms run by farmers, the farms run by peasants—accounts for four percent. And of the total capital investments—and they amount to R67 billion for the agro-industrial sector—then you can judge for yourself what proportion 1 billion is.

By the way, we have come to an agreement and we have also reported to the Supreme Soviet Presidium that we do not want to allocate this billion via administrative channels, but we want the Agrarian Union, the Peasants' Union, the Russian Peasants' Union which will form on 2 and 3 February—they are holding a congress here, they will elect their working leadership from below, from among the agrarians—we want this Agrarian Union to be the main managers. And in addition to this, we have come to an agreement, and we would like you to support us; a fund for assisting the development of peasants' farms is being set up, where we invite—we will invest not only our 1 billion—but we also invite all citizens of Russia, and not only of Russia, but also our co-citizens abroad who will find it possible to support us as far as this is concerned.

These were a few considerations, elaborations connected with the budget.

Here is one issue. We are envisaging here a very serious, let's say full compensation of peasants' expenditure caused by higher production costs. I would link this issue to the issue being vigorously discussed today: what is to be done about the retail prices of food? This is a current matter and crops up spontaneously, etc. Here we must consult with you. In our budget these amounts have been planned: the amounts of compensation for the producers. But in this case a 100 percent compensation for producers of agricultural produce has been planned in our budget.

[Yeltsin] Apart from the cooperatives?

[Silayev] Yes, yes, yes. Quite correct. But here it will be necessary to think very seriously and decide, how and where this compensation is to be invested. Either, as before, given low prices and empty shelves in the shops, it is to be invested in the producers, or else consumers pay higher prices with full compensation irrespective of

the social situation. I have told you about this so that we can share together the weight, so to speak, or discussing and trying to understand things.

I would emphasize that any of these versions is set out—naturally, in the state retail trade—in our budget. This is quite a significant aspect.

When this subject was discussed not all that long ago in the Council of Ministers, or in the cabinet of the USSR Council of Ministers, with Comrade Pavlov, there, what was practically said by them also, not by us, was that given the situation, should the issues of retail price changes be posed, then full compensation will once again be provided by the same republics of the Russian Federation and, no, I'm sorry, [corrects himself] by the Russian Federation, Belorussia, and the Ukraine—three republics. This is the situation regarding this issue. The next issue is the stabilizing of the consumer market. I have spoken so much about what we plan to spend money on, that legitimately, the question arises: Where is the money to come from? In our budget and in our predictions and the estimates which, incidentally, we distributed about a month ago to all the regions and republics—they have them to hand to be considered, and we will discuss tomorrow which direction we consider it necessary that our work should take—we are also making provision for economic stimuli to increase production, first and foremost of course, for the market, for the consumer market. We have prepared a program for stabilizing the consumer market. It has already been provisionally discussed at the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers has examined it, and it is ready, apart form a few details. Tomorrow we will also acquaint colleagues from the executive authorities with it. It envisages a whole range of issues to energetically stimulate the production of consumer goods, not only those under republican and local authority, but also, shall we say, those with a Union function which produce consumer goods for our consumer market.

Here, I would particularly like to emphasize the problem of food for 1991. If we look at how work is going today, then this gives rise to serious alarm. A lot of calls and signals are sounding that there are very energetic refusals from those krays or oblasts which have received a specific orientation toward cooperation and the delivery of food to all or some republics and krays; I have information here, and I could go into details about who this comes from.

I would like to say the following, and that is that if we do not realize what you and I together, comrades, have planned—much, perhaps even more depends here on you—then, of course, we shall find ourselves in a position where we shall have nothing to feed ourselves in the republic, especially those areas which are consumers and non-producing or producing only little. Well, I could, of course, speak here also about our northern and eastern regions and the main industrial centres. Still, I would permit myself to name a number of oblasts. For last year, I would like to say that 38 of our territories failed to fulfil deliveries, especially Krasnodar Kray, Orenburg Oblast—that's on meat products—Rostov Oblast, and Tatar and Bashkir autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. At the same time, it must be said that expenditure on meat products for local supply for a number of the territories mentioned increased considerably compared with 1989. For example, for Krasnodar Kray, they increased by 20 percent, and for Rostov oblast by nine percent.

The situation in supplies to regions of the far north, the far east and the cities of Moscow, Leningrad and other major industrial centres is not improving in 1991. For January, against a plan target of a delivery of 100,000 tonnes by 18 January, only 24,400 tonnes, or 24 percent of the plan had been delivered. Deliveries are again being disrupted to Krasnodar, Stavropol, and Altay Krays, Omsk, Volgograd and Voronezh oblasts, and a number of other territories.

I apologize for having to speak about this in the form of an operational report but, comrades, this is such an issue, today, that we cannot kid ourselves that someone from somewhere might start supplying us very energetically. Unfortunately, on imports, too, which we are counting upon and on which we are not losing hope, the possibilities have suddenly become worse than they were a month ago, at least before the events of 13 January in Lithuania. In fact, the main partners with whom we have either already signed contracts, or things were moving in that direction, have started to ask us questions about credit, and in the main some of them have already refused. This means that we must to a considerable extent count on our own efforts.

I would like to remind you, comrades, about the tax in kind and the state orders. I know that there are a number of questions. We discussed them. They refer to the 39 percent part. But that is, all the same, the market. We cannot get away from that. The president's reports spoke about 40 percent. We are not imposing taxes in 1991 on the peasant farms. I think that if you and I help them most actively not only to set up but also to start to function, and also give more active help for the subsidiary holdings, the individual plots, then we shall be able—this is natural—that means everything will remain with you, that means everything will remain in the place it is produced. It will even be difficult to carry it away, perhaps, from remote areas.

But then, while providing active influence in this area which is not having tax imposed on it, at least this year, it seems to me that we could seek out possibilities for solving the problems of obligatory deliveries according to particular regions for reciprocal deliveries. And, here, it seems to me, from the direction that we should work better with the republics and among the republics—and we are working on this—it is necessary to go over to ensuring that we work reliably, respectfully, and in a stable manner with each other. I would like to ask you, comrades, to take this into account, and we are ready to work with you on this. But we cannot get by without this.

Thus, we are not only planning the consumer part, we are not just planning the expenditure side. But we have also planned quite large sums in our articles for supporting enterprises working to increase production not in terms of rubles but in range of goods. I would like to remind you here that enterprises have felt a taste for 38 percent. You know that in accordance with our law, we extract a tax on profits from enterprises of republican and local subordination of 38 percent and not 45, and similarly from enterprises which have come out from being part of Union structures.

We are even beginning to have fears whether this 38 percent will be enough, if we so actively take them under our jurisdiction. But, all the same, we have in mind here that a considerable part of the funds which come to us, but which should go to the Union structures if they remain there, will be left by us in our republic to support those enterprises, including those which are on subsidies, which will come over to us. By the way, metallurgical plants and a large number of mines have declared for us. That is, this possibility is set out here and we consider that we have done the maximum necessary in the existing situation in order to give the producers an incentive to make more products than was the case before.

A few words about the state of the provision of material and technical supplies. One can say by joint efforts, and I have here a summary from the USSR Statistical Committee—we do not have our own separate summary yet—taking into account the prolongation of contracts in the Russian Federation as a whole, irrespective of departmental subordination, for us, for the RSFSR, the state of contracts having been concluded today is 94.9 percent, I repeat: taking into account the prolongation for the first quarter. Twenty-four regions of the republic have already 100 percent signed contracts for the first quarter. At the same time a number of cities, krays, oblasts, and republics are looking extremely poor. I would include among them Arkhangelsk Oblast, Gorkiy Oblast, Kamchatka, Novosibirsk, Rostov, Ryazan oblasts, etc: there the level achieved is some 80-85 percent.

Here I would like to say, comrades, this is a very complicated serious position and so far the supply discipline is not improving. How have we planned for ourselves action by the Russian Government? You know that there is an appropriate decision. We adopted it a month ago. It is being fulfilled to a certain extent. This is decision 548, dated 27 November, in which we took up on ourselves and accommodate...[Silayev changes thought] where the meeting of requirements, of our main social needs, republican and local, right down to the needs of the municipal economy, let alone the construction of housing, social and cultural amenities, a few of our programs are accomodated with difficulty.

However, from the viewpoint of work on annual contract supplies, only 74.2 percent has been agreed here. Here I would say that there are as it were two camps: some are the supply people at enterprises who continue to set hopes on some support from above whereas it is no longer there; others, it is true, so far there are few of them, are vigorously looking for new forms, including also trying their luck on commodity and other exchanges. This movement is getting underway very well already now, and I would request you, esteemed comrade managers, to assist most actively their being formed in a more vigorous way and their more successful functioning. Of course, for the time being, centralization by the Union Glavsnab [as heard] is impeding work in a very major way, but, nevertheless, it seems to us that with our and your support here we could have considerably better results than we are having today.

The next issues: I would like to say, comrades to dwell separately on such a question as how things are in our forestry. Indeed we are very rich in forests, but at the same time the situation in Russia, I would say, is simply tragic. We look so bad today due, unfortunately, to some illegal, let us say, actions, that questions in many areas of social programs are greatly in doubt today. I would like to cite some examples now; a collossal amount of timber for production is being taken out from bases of enterprises belonging to what is still today the Ministry of Timber Industry. This amounts to 110 million [as heard] for Irkutsk Oblast alone. The actual price for standing timber has been doubled without any permission. The executive committees have taken the decision to keep for their own purposes almost 2 million cubic meters of timber materials at the expense of deliveries made in accordance with the state order. That is for Irkutsk. The position is analogous in Krasnoyarsk Kray, Arkhangelsk, Perm, Tomsk, Tyumen, Amur and other oblasts.

Of course, all of this disorganises economic activity in many industrial sectors of the RSFSR, not to mention that it puts the corresponding labour collectives in an impossible position. Quite large supplies of timber are arbitrarily being diverted for export without any agreement or consultation with us. There are some cases where there are some barter deals when we agreed, but this is a very small proportion. Therefore, in practice, the overwhelming majority of kray executive committees and other executive committees are very actively engaged in this, and this, of course, damages our economy and I would like to ask them to display a certain moderation and restraint.

A few words about prices for light and textile industry. I was asked these questions in a note that has been handed to me. I would like to say that we—taking account of the situation that has arisen today, which is extremely alarming and critical—have given instructions and we have already issued the documents, which must be adhered to, that our Ministry of Trade is concluding contracts, at least it should have begun concluding contracts, for the delivery of light industry and textile industry articles in accordance with new wholesale prices. In general, we are finding and naturally will find—we are obliged to do this—compensation for the

fact that these goods are being sold by our Trade Ministry and by our shops at their former retail price. Therefore, we do not know whether we shall keep to this for long but at least I am simply informing you that we signed such an agreement three days ago, and now it is simply necessary for the Trade Ministry to work more actively with the enterprises and vice versa.

Actually, I could have ended on that, bearing in mind that I have 30 minutes of time. There will no doubt be some questions. I would like, comrades, to appeal here today to the legislative bodies of power for support for the executive committees. There are still quite a few cases when the executive committees are ignored, to put it mildly. In general, they are not allowed to exercise their possibilities of functioning autonomously. Often, maybe unjustifiably, some people place the blame on the decisions of particular relevant local soviets, but probably it is altogether not healthy when they are simply liquidated, substituted by other structures or swallowed up by the same workers' legislative body. We believe that—I am not talking about the juridical side of the matter—this inflicts damage, comrades. I submit that you—I am addressing the heads of our Russian legislative bodies—you are nevertheless picking up professionals for the executive bodies, and we know how well the overwhelming majority of heads of kray executive committees, executive committees of councils of ministers of the republics are working. They really are professionals and it is pleasant to work with them. I meet them very much and often.

No doubt it is also natural that the soviets which are, say, elected by the population do not behave as professionally, and deputies are not elected on professional grounds, and the same goes for the leading bodies of the soviets. We believe that in this sphere this does do harm, and it is to be wished that in this matter there should be observance of the structure defined by the constitution and laws of the Russian Federation including that of executive distributive power. Thank you for your attention.

Moscow Council Assails Military Force in Vilnius

LD1801192491 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 18 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—At a news conference in the Moscow City Council today, members of the council delegation, recently returned from Lithuania, said use of military force in Vilnius on the night of January 12 was not necessary or provoked.

A resolution adopted at a Moscow City Council session on Thursday evening was circulated at a news conference. The resolution calls inadmissible, setting up in Moscow "any organisations parallel to the lawful bodies of authority". Any organisations of this kind are unlawful, and their decisions invalid from the moment of adoption, the resolution says.

Minister Urges West To Halt Aid to Gorbachev

LD2001141991 Hamburg DPA in German 1341 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—For the first time there has been a mass demonstration in Moscow directly against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Several hundred thousand people today protested mainly against the violent actions of the military in Lithuania and expressed their concern that the legitimate parliaments and governments in the Baltic republics were theatened by coups. [passage omitted]

Yesterday evening in Riga a "Committee for National Salvation" loyal to Moscow declared itself the new government of this union republic and declared the parliament and government there dissolved. On the fringes of the Moscow demonstration, Russian Minister for the Press and Mass Media Mikhail Poltoranin today described this event in Latvia as an attempted coup. "It was quite simply an attempted coup on the orders of the central government," Poltoranin told DPA.

"What happened in Latvia is a repeat of what happened in Lithuania and a repeat of the scenario in the CSFR in 1968 when a salvation committee also asked Soviet troops for assistance," the minister went on to stress. The politician called on Western countries to support the republics of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Russia instead of continuing "to feed" Soviet President Mikhail "Gorbachev with aid goods". "The system swallows up loans and the people do not profit from them," Poltoranin said. [passage omitted]

RSFSR Official To Discuss Ties in Latvia

LD2201131291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jan (TASS)—Andrey Fedorov, deputy foreign minister of the Russian Federation, set off by air this morning for the Latvian capital, Riga.

A TASS correspondent was told at the RSFSR Foreign Ministry that during the one-day working visit meetings and contacts will take place between the Russian diplomat and counterparts from Latvia's foreign policy department for the purposes of establishing closer ties between the two republics. Questions concerning the creation of a mechanism for two-way activity between the RSFSR and Latvia, including the exchange of representatives and information, will be addressed.

Deputies Reject Pro-Lithuanian Strike Action

PM2201165591 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent S. Karkhanin: "Strike Calls; Our Correspondent Talks With USSR Supreme Soviet Session Participants"]

[Text] Much of the USSR Supreme Soviet's working day on Wednesday was devoted to the events in Lithuania. Deputies are looking for ways of settling the political crisis in the republic as painlessly as possible. Meanwhile, some public forces are fanning the hotbed of conflict. Representatives of "Democratic Russia" are calling for a warning strike beneath the "Hands off Lithuania!" slogan, and the press reports that the appeal is supported by some leaders of the World Confederation of Labor. RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy B. Denisenko is holding talks with Kuzbass strike committees about organizing a strike. Ye. Bonner, widow of Academician A. Sakharov, has asked the Nobel Committee to remove Andrey Dmitriyevich's name from the list of Nobel Peace Prize winners. "To my mind, it is insufferable," the letter says, "that it should stand alongside the name of CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev."

What do the Supreme Soviet session participants think about this?

Yu. Golik, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order:

"As a deputy from Kemerovo, I have talked with representatives of Kuzbass workers' committees in an attempt to get an answer to one question: What would a strike do for the miners and for the country as a whole? I received no answer. The strike calls come not from the workers, but from someone else entirely...

"Here are two facts. I can see who Aliyev intends to wage war against, in urging Nakhichevan to set up its own army. But who does B. Yeltsin intend to wage war against, when he calls for the same thing to happen in Russia in connection with the events in the Baltic area?

"In order to be able to evaluate the events in Lithuania you need the maximum amount of information. It is only just beginning to arrive. For example, there are photographs of people who have fallen under tank tracks. But now it transpires that they were pushed by people standing alongside them. And 'well-wishers' are asking the families of people who have recently died in Vilnius of quite different causes—a normal, natural death—for permission to inflict gunshot wounds on the corpses.

"The reasons are obvious too, I think... All this needs to be checked.

"Mr. Landsbergis must understand that that he brought the Vilnius eruption upon the republic's inhabitants by his confrontational actions."

A. Korshunov, worker and USSR people's deputy from the trade unions:

"I am categorically against any strikes over the events in Lithuania.

"I beleve that trade union leaders who are in agreement with 'Democratic Russia' are merely seeking cheap political prestige. Nor do I accept B. Yeltsin's stance on the 'Lithuanian question.'"

S. Savitskaya, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Foundation Board and USSR pilot-cosmonaut:

"As for Yelena Bonner's statement, of course she is entitled to her own opinion, particularly as she is A.D. Sakharov's widow and obviously thinks along the same lines. But the Nobel Prize is awarded independently of the opinion of the prizewinner's relatives.

"The prize was given to M.S. Gorbachev for his foreign policy activity. This activity is very highly rated abroad. The reaction at home to the USSR president's winning the Nobel Peace Prize was somewhat more restrained, since the domestic situation in our state is far from peaceful. It seems to me that the president should have acted more decisively to prevent bloodshed in Lithuania."

Kaliningrad Public Fail To Join Demonstrations

LD2101235791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1640 GMT 21 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad (the northwest of Russia), 21 Jan (TASS)—The people of Kaliningrad have shown inertia in their response to calls from a number of public-political organizations that they demand the resignation of the USSR president and the country's ministers of defense and internal affairs and that they condemn the "bloody events" in the capital of Lithuania.

These organizations have been trying since last Friday to hold meetings and demonstrations of citizens, but very small groups of people have taken part in them—on Sunday [20 January] there were no more than 100 of the town's population of 400,000.

As an on-the-spot opinion poll conducted by the TASS correspondent among the population has shown, the situation in Lithuania is no less worrying to the residents of Kaliningrad then it is to the organizers of the meetings. The oblast relies on deliveries of gas, oil products, electricity, and construction materials from there and the economic sanctions undertaken against Lithuania by the USSR Government last summer had a negative effect on the economy of this Russian region. Many of them have relatives living in Lithuania, and they receive first-hand information about what is really happening there. Several people, in talking to the TASS correspondent, cited examples of the cruel moral terror, the threat of physical reprisals, and the demands that they clear off back to Russia which have been addressed to the non-Lithuanian population in the republic. However, the organizers of the meetings did not offer the megaphone to those who wanted to talk about these facts.

Lithuanian-Russian Draft Treaty Talks Continue

LD2201120891 Kaunas Radio Kaunas in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] As we have already reported, a delegation headed by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Republic of Lithuania Supreme Council, is currently in Moscow to continue the preparation of a draft treaty between the Republic of Lithuania and the Russian Federal Socialist Republic. The delegation consists of deputies of the Supreme Council, staff members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and experts.

The preparation of the draft started at the end of last summer. It is hoped that it will be fully coordinated during this meeting.

Pro-, Anti-Yeltsin Pickets at Government Office

PM2301085991 Moscow in Russian 22 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent: "Confrontation"]

[Text] Pickets were posted at the entrance to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers yesterday. On one side there were the so-called "democratic forces"; on the other, the patriotic forces. Without sparing their vocal chords—as was the case Sunday [20 January] on Manege Square—the former backed B.N. Yeltsin, RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman, chanting unpalatable slogans: "Dictatorship won't work!" "Down with the CPSU," etc. Others held banners: "Yeltsin Is the Betrayer of the Russian People," "Long live Soviet Lithuania," "Sajudis is fascism!"

The confrontation that took shape Sunday is intensifying. People on both sides refuse to understand one another. There is no dialogue, everything is turning into yelling and even insults. Some people want the Russian people's deputies at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session to demand that Russia defend the interests of the Russian-speaking population in the Baltics and that the USSR be preserved and strengthened, while others are demanding that B.N. Yeltsin be immediately elected president of Russia—that is the only way they can see of "saving Russia and democracy."

Yeltsin Receives Nordic Envoys 15 Jan

PM1801114191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report from IZVESTIYA, POSTFAKTUM, TASS, UPI, REUTER roundup: "B. Yeltsin Has Received Nordic Countries' Envoys"]

[Text] On 15 January in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] House of Soviets, B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, received the following Nordic countries' envoys: Danish ambassador V. Egebjerg, Norwegian ambassador S. Dagfinn, Finnish ambassador H. Talvitie, and Swedish ambassador O. Berner at their request.

Russia, B.N. Yeltsin stressed, not only verbally but also in deeds will not remain indifferent if the strong-arm actions are continued and will seek the fulfillment of the relevant decisions of the Congress of People's Deputies and RSFSR Supreme Soviet on the nonparticipation of servicemen drafted from RSFSR territory in the solution of ethnic conflicts outside the RSFSR.

These explanations of the RSFSR state leadership's position were met with understanding, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium press service has reported.

Moscow City Council Appoints Executive Committee

LD1801021391 Moscow TASS in English 2217 GMT 17 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Igor Agabekov]

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—a Thursday sitting of the session of the Moscow City Council began with hearing information, collected by a group of emissaries of the Moscow Council in Lithuania, who have just returned from that Baltic republic. Members of the delegation —blamed the army and political leadership of the country for all that happened in Lithuania.

Their reports gave grounds to participants in the sitting to continue the discussion of the developments in Lithuania, that was started on Wednesday.

The session assessed the situation in that republic in a special resolution. It denounced the use of armed force against the civilian population and the legally elected authorities, no matter under what pretexts it was done. To express their grief over the victims of those tragic developments, it was suggested that mourning activities be held on January 20. One of the deputies protested against it on the grounds that the voting procedure was violated. A commission was set up to analyse his statement. A group of independent deputies did not take part in the voting either. They maintain that the resolution kindles civil war in the Baltic region. Many members of the Moscow group did not participate in the voting either. They issued a special statement in this connection.

On Thursday evening the Moscow City Council finished the work that took it eight months: It approved its executive committee.

Congratulating members of the executive committee, Chairman of the Moscow City Council Gavriil Popov said that he, the same as other deputies, had many complaints over its performance. Many defects in its work are connected with the overall situation in the country, but some depend on its staff members. Popov admitted that the restructuring of the management system is the most difficult of tasks and at the same time

stressed that the executive committee had been given the last chance to show what it is worth.

Further Details on Murder of Kaluga Editor

91UN0716A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jan 91 First Edition p 4

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents Yu. Nikolayev and A. Ryabov: "The Banner of Communist Fomin"]

[Text]*Our correspondents report on the murder of the editor of the Kaluga Oblast party newspaper on 11 January.*

Everything taken together, every detail alone pertaining to the death of an editor from Kaluga is shaking. Such as this detail... The killer, Vladimir Glebovich Vorontsov, waited for Fomin to return from his lunch break near a church. It was from the walls of a temple that he set out to commit his dirty deed...

Two people of the same age, the killer and his victim, came, as they say, face to face in the office of the editor. There were no witnesses, and we may judge what transpired there only based on the words of Vorontsov himself.

"Having entered the office, I trained my sawed-off shotgun on him and ordered him: Get up!"

"Did the editor get up?"

"No! He... smiled..."

Vorontsov fired from the barrels. Shot through with the kind of bullets they use to hunt bears, the editor summoned up the courage to get up from behind his desk and move precisely at the black eyes of the sawn-off shotgun. Vorontsov managed to reload, and another shot rang out.

One of the bullets rebounded into an intercom in the editorial office. The phones rang simultaneously in the offices of all employees who were on the editor's intercom system. All of them picked up their phones with the same words:

—I am here, Ivan Ivanovich...

Ivan Ivanovich could not say anything anymore. He collapsed in his reception room never to rise up again...

Photo correspondent Gennadiy Mikhaylovich Golovkov was the first to rush to the aid of the editor. Vorontsov fired a shot, wounding the correspondent badly. He rushed down the stairwell yelling: "Do not come out, they will fire!"

About an hour later, shots from the same sawn-off shotgun rang out in the office of the trade union committee of the Construction and Assembly Administration-6 of the Association Kalugastroy. Its chairman Anatoliy Petrovich Kaluzhskiy was taken to the hospital with the most serious wounds...

Of course, it is premature to draw final conclusions regarding this bloody saga at present. An investigative team is at work, and all circumstances of the crime are being carefully studied. However, the fact that certain people try to muddy the waters, taking advantage of these circumstances, very much puts us on our guard. Journalists from Kaluga, functionaries of the oblast executive committee and the party obkom [oblast committee], as well as just the inhabitants of the city whom we do not know, held out to us with bewilderment the issue of the newspaper IZVESTIYA with the unsigned article "Oblast Newspaper Editor Has Been Killed" and asked us to explain at least somehow its flowery content, beginning with the first sentence: " The campaign of discrediting journalists, mounted with renewed vigor in recent weeks, is becoming increasingly ominous. Undisguised pressure on the journalists, the destruction of print runs, and the banning of TV programs have become a prelude to open terror against glasnost." As we can see, there is "a little bit of this and a little bit of that"; we did not venture to explain the veiled aspiration to channel public ire in a clearly erroneous direction, all the more so because, we repeat, it is up to the court to make final assessments. However, even now there are no doubts about motives for these truly ominous political acts. The killer himself does not hide them: It is hatred of communists. He said:

"For a long time I have been preparing a list of those to dispose of, to eliminate, precisely communists—ranking party functionaries first of all."

"However, you did have some reasons?"

"Communists are to be physically eliminated."

"Why do you think so?"

"You are aware of what is happening in the Soviet Union. The communists are the root of all evil. They do not want to yield power voluntarily, it can only be taken from them by force. They will resist, and this means they should be eliminated."

"That is to say, you had no personal resentment?"

"No, none at all."

"Why precisely was Fomin your first victim?"

"You know, apart from Fomin, I also had my eye on other communists I intended to eliminate. However, judging by his article in the newspaper, Fomin is a convinced and furious communist. The newspaper itself is the organ of the CPSU obkom, and he—I read his articles and the articles of the people who have come out against everything new and more progressive that democracy brings us. The communists are people who deserve death."

No matter how many times they asked him about any wrongs at all committed by the editor, he stuck to his point:

"I repeat Lenin's words once again: The press is the ideological tool of the party. Tools have got to be destroyed, especially of a party such as the CPSU."

Tell us please what all of this has got to do with ravings about, for example, the banning of TV programs? Or the pressure someone brings to bear on the journalists?

Vorontsov does not see fit to conceal the particular forces in our society prepared him psychologically for his bloody deeds. He sought compromising evidence about communists in youth and so-called "independent" or "democratic" publications. He eagerly quoted a long list of those. It is easy to determine from this list that he had the greatest liking for the newspapers and magazines preaching permissiveness, primordial anticommunism, and immorality. This renegade who was convicted twice for malicious robbery and once "for inflicting serious bodily injury" was true to these principles in his life as well. He was married five times, and left five children. He did not see fit to take care of his current wife, who is now seven months pregnant...

Vorontsov mentioned with pride of sorts that he "has not missed a single rally held by democratic forces." On 7 November, he celebrated "memorial day," where he worked up his anger, rather than an anniversary of the Soviet socialist state. As he said, he found speeches by People's Deputy Deryaginparticularly memorable; presumably, they also "warmed him up..."

He was not preparing to visit death only on party journalists. An entire list of communists "slated for elimination" was confiscated from him. (Vorontsov carefully avoids the words "murder" and "to kill.")

We were surprised to find that a completely fallacious interpretation is persistently put out by some people on the very fact of Vorontsov turning himself in to the militia. This is cast as virtually an act of courage. Actually, he simply reached a dead end. The Kaluga KGB and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Administrations promptly put together teams to apprehend the criminal. Hundreds of their employees were put in action. His description was read on the city radio network. A strict warning was repeated: Do not approach the suspect by any means. Militia employees and chekists were warned to use weapons without warning when apprehending the killer...

Having rushed into the street after dealing with Kaluzhskiy, Vorontsov suddenly remembered an unforgivable inadvertence. In a hurry, he left in the reception room of the newspaper editor his attache case, and inside it an issue of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA he took out of his mailbox in the morning with the street, building number, apartment number, and his address indicated on it. He also saw beefed-up militia patrols cordoning off city blocks. He understood that he could not slip away! At this point, he went to a public phone, and dialed 02:

"Don't you worry... I will turn myself in..."

It is with profound regret that we devote so many lines to the killer. However, we must clear the air sufficiently for our difficult conversation today. In the process, we firmly hope that readers will show complete understanding for everything said above, and it will not eclipse the glowing memory of the communist who perished.

Who is Ivan Fomin?

He was born in the village of Aristovo, Kaluga Oblast. His parents came from a line of peasants. In 1967, after serving in the Soviet Army, he began to work in the Ferzikovskiy Rayon newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA. He graduated by correspondence from the Kharkov Institute of Law and worked as an investigator at the office of the procurator in Ugodsko-Zavodskoy (currently Zhukovskiy) Rayon, and subsequently as an instructor at a CPSU rayon committee. After 1973, he was once again in the editorial office as deputy editor in chief of the rayon newspaper LENINSKIY LUCH, and somewhat later its editor. We believe that we do not have to explain to professional journalists what publishing "the rayon one" means. The business day of a rayon newspaper editor begins as those of all rural inhabitants, at the crack of dawn, and ends late at night when the printing of the last copies of the newspaper comes to an end. There is a constant shortage of personnel, mandatory participation in the business of the rayon party organization, and concern with the technical outfitting of the editorial office and the printing plant...

In 1979, Fomin entered the Moscow Higher Party School, and after graduating from it became a staff correspondent of the Kaluga Oblast newspaper. Five years later, he was appointed deputy editor in chief of ZNAMYA, and in another one and a half years—its editor in chief.

He gave his all to the endeavor in all positions and jobs, holding nothing back. His life was like the honest and difficult path of a plowman, an eternal toiler, akin to those his forefathers walked on the land of Kaluga.

It was clean and cozy in the apartment of the Fomins when we went to express our condolences to the family of Ivan Ivanovich. A library of Russian and foreign classics is the main treasure of the household. They have always loved reading here. His daughter Tanya, a third-year student at a branch of the imeni Timiryazev Agricultural Academy, and his son Volodya, who is in the ninth grade, do not part with books either.

Tanya Fomina is a bright-eyed girl with light-brown hair, a real beauty. We talked about her father softly in the kitchen. Tears were about to well up in her eyes quite a few times:

"Also, he liked poetry very much, he knew a lot of poetry by heart, especially Yesenin. In general, we did not see

him often, especially recently. He was cloistered in the editorial office on Saturdays and Sundays as well, and we appreciated that it could not be otherwise. Now is such a time, alarming time..."

Of course, Ivan Ivanovich himself knew this many times better than his daughter. Having become editor of the newspaper in the very beginning of perestroyka, he regularly came out with pointed essays. He criticized people regardless of their rank and fought what the genuine party press has always fought—self-conceit and red tape, boorishness and ignorance, and speculation in any form.

Executive Secretary of ZNAMYA A. Kukhtikov recalled: "In the spring of last year, he wrote an article denouncing the personal immodesty of the second secretary of party obkom. The latter filed a lawsuit against him. However, Ivan Ivanovich submitted all the necessary documents. Therefore, there was nothing left for the plaintiff to do but to withdraw his petition. The bureau of the party obkom reviewed the article, and sided with the newspaper. The second secretary had to leave his post.

The article "A Half-Liter From the Procurator" on the unseemly machinations of a local functionary became a real bomb...

The Kaluga newspaper ZNAMYA was among the first oblast newspapers to start a serious discussion of genuine and false democracy camouflaging the personal ambitions of those grabbing for power at any price. Ivan Ivanovich told one of us on many occasions about the hatred of some politicos caused by the true words of the party. They promised to deal with him as early as the days of the then notorious election campaign of Artem Tarasov (Tarasyan). However, he did not knuckle under any threats; all he was afraid of was that his family would find out about them... Of course, he did not bend or break. The title of a polemical essay by Fomin published in early December of last year is self-evident—"Under the Flag of Pluralism." In the essay, he held accountable some clearly presumptuous, though well-known, politicos honestly and directly, as he always did.

At present, a clear-cut communist position is not to the liking of many people. Perhaps, he could have treated the readers to the publication of someone's "Memoirs..." or "Confessions..." and without much difficulty have a quiet journalistic life. However, as we can see, the editor of ZNAMYA opted for uneasy, but combative, aggressive, and genuinely party-style journalism. He called on his colleagues to do the same. He asserted civil courage through his own example rather than persuasion, orders, or promises.

Did he understand what he was getting into? Was he aware of the fact that by now forces already operate openly in our country capable of stopping at nothing to cut off the flow of the truth, and an objective analysis of the existing situation, to the people? Actually, this is not a question. This is what he was apprehensive about during his last short meeting in Moscow with one of the authors of these lines:

—Our democracy is turning out to be somehow lopsided. They listen to themselves only. What kind of pluralism of opinions is it?

Also:

—The rapid intertwining of democracy with shady operators and the mafia puts me on my guard.

However, he showed sincere interest in the truly democratic sprouts of our life. He was always open to frank exchanges of opinion and heated debate. He was open and attentive to people. As far as we know, the firmness of his character notwithstanding, the journalists of ZNAMYA did not perceive Ivan Ivanovich as an overbearing boss. He was a comrade to them, a kind adviser, and an energetic soldier of the party organization.

It may be a coincidence, but a symbolic one, that Ivan Ivanovich met his death with a reader's letter in his hand. He was preparing to print it in the coming issue.

He did not manage to...

Western Republics

Belorussian Supreme Soviet Adopts New Legislation

LD1701084191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1523 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Text] Minsk, 16 January (BELTA-TASS)—The Belorussian Supreme Soviet adopted a law "On Economic Insolvency and Bankruptcy" in the first reading today. This law extends to those involved in business on the territory of the republic, including representatives of other republics and foreign countries launching their business in Belorussia.

A law "On People's Voting (Referendum) in the Belorussian SSR" [Soviet Socialist Republic] was also adopted in the first reading. Henceforth, republic people's deputies, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, its chairman and republic citizens have the right to initiate a referendum.

In order to organize a referendum, Belorussian citizens would have to collect 350 signatures. Deputies would have to have the consent of at least one-third of their composition.

At the Belorussian Supreme Soviet, 83 statements from oppositional deputies, deputies representing people's front and democratic club's were read. They insist on condemning the use of armed forces in the Baltic republics.

Lithuanian Events Discussed

PM2101135391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent N. Matukovskiy: "Belorussian Legislature Condemns Events in Lithuania"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian legislature, which has met for the first time this year, intended to discuss a number of economic projects of importance to the republic, but life made substantial amendments to its work.

There were the tragic events in neighboring Lithuania, and this immediately generated a stormy reaction from the people's deputies.

It is easy to understand them. The Belorussians and Lithuanians not only have a common border, which has so far had purely symbolic significance, they have almost everything in common—history and the present, thousands of Lithuanian-Belorussian and Belorussian-Lithuanian families in Lithuania and Belorussia. Some deputies suggested beginning a discussion of the "Lithuanian question" immediately, on the first day of the Supreme Soviet's work. But the majority decided that a group of deputies should travel immediately to Lithuania to familiarize themselves with the state of affairs on the spot. This group, headed by the well-known Belorussian poet Nil Gilevich, set off immediately for Vilnius. Another group of deputies—an unofficial one—also traveled there...

And now the legislature was listening to the deputies who had returned from Vilnius and to N.I. Dementey, chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who had come from Moscow and who had also visited Lithuania... There was a deathly silence in the auditorium. The deputies were sometimes unable to control their emotions in describing what they saw, their meetings on the streets and in the Lithuanian legislature with witnesses and participants in the tragic events, and their participation in the funerals of the innocent people who had died. Their conclusion was as follows: What happened in Vilnius was the result of the shortsighted "old-regime" policy primarily of the center and then of the Lithuanian government and Supreme Soviet. The matter should not have been taken to such an unnatural confrontation between one section of the people against another, events should not have been allowed to develop spontaneously. Of course, everything possible had to be done to prevent bloodshed and no "lofty" political considerations could justify it. It is essential to find those specifically to blame for the tragedy which occurred. Some deputies demanded the immediate resignation of Defense Minister Yazov.

The deputies who had returned from Vilnius described how they tried to meet with at least one member of the Lithuanian National Salvation Committee, but they did not succeed, which caused them to doubt whether the committee existed at all.

The Belorussian Supreme Soviet has adopted a statement which says in particular that the Belorussian people are profoundly disturbed at the development of events in Lithuania and resolutely denounced the introduction of troops at the request of an unconstitutionally created organ. Strong-arm pressure cannot strengthen cooperation, only the peoples' free choice will be a guarantee of peace and calm in the country.

Moldovan Legislature Continues Conscription Drive

LD1801114991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Moldova has obliged the republic's government to continue the conscription campaign until 1 February 1991. This has been done because the plan for the fall call-up for the Soviet Army was not carried out.

Moldovan Legislature Honors Vilnius Victims

LD1701000991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent M. Sokirke; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] resumed its proceedings in Kishinev today.

[Sokirke] The session started with deputies observing a minute's silence in honor of those who died during the events in Lithuania, after which they set about approving the agenda. On behalf of a group of deputies representing the Dnestr region and the south, Deputy (Pologov) proposed that the issue of reinstating 12 deputies from these areas who had earlier been stripped of their powers should be considered. It was also proposed that attention be given to the problem of transferring executive authority to the president of the Moldovan SSR, that discussion of the Union treaty be continued and that the decisions of the second great national assembly be discussed. Deputy (Okulov) proposed that the issue of setting up the Federal Republic of Moldova be examined. By a majority vote, however, the deputies backed the agenda proposed by the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

[A.F. Plugaru, member of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet Presidium] The Law on Ownership, the Law on Taxation, the Law on State Control and very many other serious issues must be tackled urgently. But of course, as expected, the first item on the agenda is discussion by the republican Supreme Soviet of the situation in Lithuania. The Supreme Soviet Presidium already had its say on this matter three days ago. Today the Supreme Soviet approved the Presidium's declaration.

Ukraine Communists Denounce Lithuanian Extremism

LD1801211491 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 18 Jan 91

[Text] Kiev January 18 UKRINFORM-TASS—The Secretariat of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has adopted a resolution denouncing the "provocative campaign unleashed by national-separatist and extremist forces in Lithuania".

The resolution protests against actions aiming to escalate violence, primarily against Communists, destroy the state and change the social system.

It expresses support for the Lithuanian Communists and for all those who today "opposes the onslaught of militant anti-communism, splinter and destructive sentiments and actions."

Ukrainian Communists say they are prepared to help a peaceful and political settlement of the conflict, which is maliciously fanned up by the enemies of civil peace and socialism."

Rukh Group Calls for National Conciliation Day

LD2001144991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Jan 91

[Text] Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] and the parties adhering to it have called on people to celebrate a day of Ukrainian conciliation today. They suggest that the date when the two bourgeois republics in western and eastern Ukraine signed the treaty on the reunification of its lands under the leadership of the Central Rada in 1919 become a national holiday.

This date is being celebrated in Kiev today by public prayer and a meeting. The Kiev City Soviet supports this holiday. However, the city committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party opposes it, saying that this holiday will provoke new outbursts of extremism, and will become a continuation of Rukh's campaign for the Ukraine's secession from the USSR.

Caucasus

Shooting Continues in South Ossetia

PM1801112091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 91 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the rubric "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow": "On the Situation in South Ossetia"]

[Text] The situation in Tskhinvali remains tense. In the town the shooting has hardly stopped at all.

A TASS correspondent was informed at the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] press center that in the past 12 days of the conflict alone, 80 people have been injured.

In connection with the transfer of a large number of Georgian militia staffers to South Ossetia, burglary, robbery, and theft have become more frequent in other regions of the republic. Therefore, the Georgian militia has been restricted to its barracks.

Information has been received from unofficial sources that on 17 January a car and a bus carrying USSR MVD Internal Forces servicemen were fired upon. According to initial reports none of the personnel was injured.

Agreement Ends South Ossetia Economic Blockade

LD2201225591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Agreement on normalization of the situation in Tskhinvali and in Dzhava rayon, on lifting the economic blockade of South Ossetia, and on resuming normal work in the rayon and in urban departments of internal affairs in Tskhinvali was reached at a meeting between representatives of the public of South Ossetia, the leadership of the Interior Ministry [MVD] of Georgia, and the command of the Internal Troops of the USSR MVD. This was reported to the TASS correspondent at the press center of the USSR MVD.

However, the changes for the better, which have taken place in South Ossetia in the past few days, are not greeted with approval by everyone in Georgia.

Thus, on 22 January, republican radio broadcast a statement on behalf of the leadership of Georgia. It expressed a negative appraisal of the fact that in order to stabilize the situation in South Ossetia, patrols will be carried out both by the Georgian and by the Ossetian militia. The statement says that no autonomous South Ossetian oblast exists any longer and, consequently, no oblast structures of its administration exist.

Despite the accord reached between the opposing sides, an intensive exchange of fire started again this afternoon. According to a report from the SAKARTVELO correspondent in Georgia, it was started by the Ossetian side. Two members of the staff at the Georgian Ministry of Internal Affairs have been wounded. In the retaliatory fire two were killed and several attackers were injured. The intensive exchange of fire continued until late this evening.

Armenians Hold 'Large Demonstration' in NKAO

LD2201150891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 91

[Text] A large demonstration was held today in the oblast center of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. Those taking part advanced demands to disband the republican organizational committee for Nagorno-Karabakh, recognize the authority of the oblast soviet of people's deputies and its executive committee,

withdraw from the territory of the oblast and from adjacent rayons of units of the Azerbaijan OMON [special purpose militia unit], and rescind the decision of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet on abolishing the adjacent Shaumyanovsk rural rayon, the majority of whose population are Armenians.

The action held by representatives of the Armenian population of Stepanakert compelled the commandant's office of the state of emergency region to take measures to prevent disorders. The authorities called for calm among the townsfolk on the oblast radio and over loud-speakers and asked people not to violate the state of emergency. The demonstrators showed restraint and the demonstration took place without excesses.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Reconvenes 21 Jan

NC2201181491 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 21 Jan 91

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet resumed its deliberations today after a month-long recess during which the standing commissions were preparing or elaborating on legislative bills.

Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet, opened the full session of the legislature.

The deputies observed a minute of silence in memory of the victims of the latest oppression in Lithuania and Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

Davit Vardanyan, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Relations Commission, delivered a brief report about the general situation in the Soviet Union, and about the situation in the Baltic republics and Artsakh.

The major item on the agenda before the legislature is the bill on agriculture and agricultural collectives.

The deputies will also have to adopt decisions on holding a referendum on 17 March. The referendum will decide whether to keep the Soviet Union a federation of different republics.

Dear compatriots, we will inform you about the session's work and its decisions in our broadcast tomorrow.

Presidium Sends Condolences to Latvia

NC2301123791 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0600 GMT 23 Jan 91

[From the review of HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a cable to the Latvian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium that says: The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium conveys its deep condolences to the Latvian people and to the relatives of those who died following [word indistinct] the armed operations in Riga by the special militia detachment on the night of 21 January 1991.

The Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium believes that the destabilization of the situation in the Baltic republics and the instigation of interethnic conflicts toward this end stem from the policy of force pursued by the Union authorities with regard to the question of national self-determination.

Central Asia

Kirghiz Cabinet of Ministers Elected

LD2201141891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1327 GMT 22 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Maynayev]

[Text] Frunze, 22 Jan (TASS)—A Cabinet of Ministers of Kirghizia was elected at a session of the Supreme Soviet of this Central Asian republic which opened here today. Replacing the republican Council of Ministers, it will work directly under the leadership of the president of Kirghizia.

The 48-year-old economist Nasirdin Isanov who, until now, has been the republic's vice-president, was approved as premier of the cabinet. The 42-year-old German Kuznetsov, former secretary of the Frunze City Party Committee and known as an active member of the president's team and a supporter of decisive economic reforms, has become the new vice-president.

On the session's agenda is discussion of the draft law on local soviets of people's deputies and local self-governing, and the draft law on the budget.

Kazakh Legislature Issues Statement on Lithuania

PM1801103991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent O. Stefashin: "Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Presidium Statement"]

[Text] The Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium has expressed deep concern over the tragic events in Lithuania.

The statement published in the republican press 16 January notes with anxiety that the events which have taken place in the sovereign republic could have more serious consequences than seems the case at first glance. Not only for Lithuania itself but also for the country as a whole inasmuch as essentially all processes of democratic renewal and the establishment of a rule-of-law state have been jeopardized.

A conflict which has gone so far, the Presidium believes, will not be resolved unless there is a timely departure from the path of confrontation and violence, mutual deafness and incomprehension. And the use of military force is particularly intolerable in this situation. Any use

of military force, the seizure of civilian establishments, the use of weapons, and the creation of parallel structures of power—all these actions have no legal basis and not only fail to promote the normalization of the situation but on the contrary merely aggravate it.

"We appeal to the USSR president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Lithuanian Republic's Supreme Soviet, and to all its citizens and to servicemen and law enforcement organs to stabilize the situation as rapidly as possible by exclusively political methods on the basis of the USSR Constitution and laws, of dialogue and agreement, and mutual understanding and respect."

Kazakhstan, Belorussia Sign Treaty on Relations

PM1501101691 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent T. Yesilbayev under the "Official" rubric: "Down They Sat for a Friendly Chat"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A treaty was signed here today between Kazakhstan and Belorussia. The signatures at the bottom of this important political agreement are those of N. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], and N. Dementey, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

At a news conference held immediately after the document was signed, it was noted that both Kazakhstan and Belorussia intend to use every available means to further the creation and development on a voluntary basis of the union of sovereign states. In the words of the two fraternal republics' leaders, the treaty opens up new horizons in economic, scientific and technical, and cultural cooperation. In particular, the two parties' economic relations are regulated by the agreements, an integral part of which is the granting of most favored nation status. Kazakhstan and Belorussia guarantee the development of all-around links at the level of organs of state power and management, banks and the financial system, associations and institutions, joint Kazakh-Belorussian and Belorussian-Kazakh enterprises and organizations, and individual entrepreneurs.

In the treaty, both parties recognize the global character of the Chernobyl catastrophe, the negative consequences of nuclear weapon testing on the Semipalatinsk testing ground, and the ecological damage in the Aral Sea zone, and undertake to exchange information regarding all aspects of these problems and to unite and coordinate their efforts, including at international level, to overcome their consequences.

Posts To Monitor Chemicals, Radiation on Border

LD1801154891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Special posts to monitor changes in the chemical, bacteriological, and radiation situation have been established along a section of the USSR state border to the south of Turkmenistan. These fears have been caused by the possible consequences of the destruction of chemical and nuclear targets in Iraq. The leadership of the Turkmen Civil Defense has informed the population of the republic that there are no particular grounds for anxiety at the moment.

Uzbek Legislature, Government on Lithuania, Gulf

PM2201141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jan 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by Andrey Orlov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Uzbekistan Defines Its Position"]

[Text] Tashkent—A joint sitting of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium and government has been held to discuss the question of its attitude to events in Lithuania and the Persian Gulf region.

The participants in the sitting passed two statements. The first condemned the use of military force to resolve the conflict in Lithuania. The document contains a demand, addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet and the president and government of the country, to ensure peace and calm in every region and protect citizens' rights and freedoms by the exercise of every constitutional norm.

The second statement speaks of the need to end the bloodshed and military operations in the Persian Gulf region and to achieve peace and accord in the region by political means for the sake of mankind's today and tomorrow.

Addressing the sitting, republic President I. Karimov stressed that Uzbekistan is also seeking sovereignty, but regards respect for people and their rights, regardless of nationality or creed, as being of paramount importance. The republic will therefore act on the basis of the USSR and Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitutions and Soviet laws.